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THE DOMINION OF MAN

(SOME PROBLEMS IN HUMAN PROVIDENCE)

The Second Volume of

PROVIDENCE—DIVINE AND HUMAN

THE DOMINION OF MAN

(SOME PROBLEMS IN HUMAN PROVIDENCE)

The Second Volume of

PROVIDENCE—DIVINE AND HUMAN
A STUDY OF THE WORLD-ORDER IN
THE LIGHT OF MODERN THOUGHT

BY

E. GRIFFITH-JONES, B.A., D.D.

AUTHOR OF
"THE ASCENT THROUGH CHRIST," "FAITH AND IMMORTALITY,"
"THE CHALLENGE OF CHRISTIANITY TO A WORLD AT WAR,"
"FAITH AND VERIFICATION," "THE UNSPEAKABLE GIFT," ETC.

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NEW YORK:
GEORGE H. DORAN COMPANY

First Published 1926

Printed in Great Britain by C. Tinling & Co., Ltd.,
Liverpool, London and Prescot.

TO MY CHILDREN

CYRIL AND ELAINE

AND THE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF THE

TWENTIETH CENTURY

HERITORS OF THE GREAT YESTERDAYS, AND

MAKERS OF THE GREATER TO-MORROW

IN THE HOPE THAT THEY WILL

LOYALLY WORK

FOR THE COMING OF THE IDEAL PROVIDENTIAL ORDER

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

"And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He them; male and female created He them. And God blessed them; and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth, AND SUBDUE IT; AND HAVE DOMINION OVER [IT]." [*Genesis* i. 27–8].

"If we could rid ourselves of all pride; if, to define our species, we kept strictly to what the historic and prehistoric show us to be the characteristics of Man, and of intelligence, we should perhaps not say *homo sapiens*, but *homo Faber*." [BERGSON].

"My voice proclaims
How exquisitely the individual mind
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less
Of the whole species) to the external world
Is fitted:—how exquisitely too—
Theme this but little heard of among men—
The external world is fitted to the mind;
And the creation (by no lower name
Can it be called) which they with blended might
Accomplish."

[WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion*.]

PREFACE

This volume completes the presentation of the writer's conception of the Providential Order in the light of modern thought. The First Volume dealt with the Divine aspects of the subject in view of the difficulties raised by the Evolutionary theory. In this volume the place of Man in the Providential Order is expounded at length. For a full view of the subject both volumes must be studied in series. At the same time, an attempt has been made to make the present volume more or less complete in itself.

Some of the Problems of the Future dealt with in Book III were touched on in a previous volume—*The Challenge of Christianity to a World at War*. Here they are handled from another standpoint, and in the larger context of the World-Order as a whole.

It would be impossible to give a full list of the thinkers to whom the writer feels indebted for his sources and facts. Particular references are made in the footnotes, but these, of course, represent but a small fraction of the books and periodicals read or consulted on a subject so universal in its scope and so rich in its materials. The writer, however, feels that he owes a word of personal thanks to Professor and Mrs. Elkanah Armitage for their careful revision of Book II; to his daughter, Elaine, for valuable help in the correction of proofs; and to his wife for constant encouragement to persevere with a task frequently interrupted by the demands of official College duties, and the many engagements of a busy public life.

E. Griffith-Jones.

United College, Bradford.
September, 1926.

6343

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION (1–5)

Connection of this volume with the first.—The difference introduced into the Providential Order by the coming of man.—Man's function in that Order.—His comparative failure.—The undying Hope.—Outline of the course of our argument in this book.

BOOK I

THE MAKING OF MAN

CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT (9–21)

Man and Nature.—I. The first circle of his environment is the *physical universe*.—Recent expansions of the physical and temporal horizon, and its effects on human thought.—The earth just now is passing through a stage eminently favourable to *Life*.—The physical world we live in essentially *biocentric*. II. The second circle embraces *living creatures*.—Man's early struggles.—Domestication of Animals.—Man a herbivorous as well as flesh-eating creature.—III. The third circle is *human society itself*.—The family, the tribe, the nation, the race.—Co-operation and conflict.—War.—IV. The last circle is the *spiritual universe*.—The spiritual influence of natural scenery.—Man's own spiritual life.—The responsiveness of the spiritual environment.

CHAPTER II

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—GENERAL (22–36)

I. In some respects man is less favourably endowed than the animal creation.—His physical disabilities—The paucity and hesitancy of his *instincts*.—II. His *physical differentiæ* are his large brain and his supple hand.—III. 1. *Psychological uniqueness* of man.—2. A reasonable, self-conscious being.—His gift of abstract thinking.—3. *Language* and its functions.—IV. Consequences of man's unique qualities.—He recognises a *rational quality* in nature corresponding to his own, and so has become nature's (1) *Steersman*, (2) *a Builder*, and (3) *an Inventor*, and so has transformed the physical world into a kind of larger organism for his human ends.

CHAPTER III

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR—THE INTELLECTUAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN DEVELOPMENT (37–49)

I. Mind and consciousness.—II. The *biological* functions of Intelligence (discriminating, directive, co-ordinating, recollective).—Its higher creative functions (tools, machines, art, social and spiritual institutions).—III. *Genetic Psychology*, in the individual and in the race.

CHAPTER IV

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR—THE WILL IN DEVELOPMENT (50—73)

Primacy of the Will in recent philosophical thought.—Pessimism, Activism, Pragmatism.—I. The distinctive channels of the willing impulse. II. *The Will to Live.*—III. *The Reproductive impulse.*—IV. *The Will to Well-being.*—V. *The Will to Self-realisation*, shown in the desire for pleasure—knowledge—love—creative effort—moral excellence—immortality.—VI. *The Will to Wealth.*—VII. *The Will-to-Power.* The function of leadership (crowd-compellers, crowd-exponents, crowd-representatives, crowd-delegates).—*Will-power in its Providential aspects.*

CHAPTER V

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR—THE MORAL SENSE IN DEVELOPMENT (74–97)

The distinction between morality and religion.—I. The *Family* as the social unit.—The biological conditions of the awakening of the moral sense are: (1) The length of human infancy; (2) The parental instinct; (3) Conjugal sympathy and co-operation.—II. The *gregarious instinct*, the biological foundation of *social morality.*—The clan, the tribe, the nation.—III. Morality crystallises in *social custom, public opinion*, and *political law.*—IV. But true morality does not emerge till it is transformed from social behaviour into ethical conduct with its *inner sanctions.*—*Providential significance of the moral sense.*

CHAPTER VI

MAN'S EQUIPMENT — PARTICULAR — RELIGION IN DEVELOPMENT (98–110)

I. Man has been religious from the beginning.—II. The earliest forms of religion, however, were inhibitive to human development.—The reason why.—The two types of *magic*.—III. The *Covenant relationships* between man and his deity the first step in human progress.—IV. This deepened in the Hebrew faith into a true ethical relationship between man and God.—The *intensive* quality of Hebrew morality as exhibited in the prophetic wiritings.—The Redemptive element in Hebraism and Christianity.—V. Man's providential function finds its highest expression in the transformation of the physical and social environment in the interests of his spiritual destiny.—*Summary and Forecast.*

BOOK II

THE ARRIVAL OF MAN

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC NIGHT (113–134)

I. The Lost Record of human beginnings.—The *unity of Man*.—Extinct types.—Three racial groups.—II. *The Antiquity of Man*.—III. *The Story of Prehistoric Man*.—1. The Stone-age; 2. Characteristics of Neolithic Man; 3. The discovery of metals and the beginnings of civilisation.—The Bronze age. 4. The Iron age.—IV. *Conditions of Cultural development*.—1. Growth of racial experience; 2. Invention of tools and the beginnings of *leisure*; 3. The uneven progress of mankind accounted for by instability in environal conditions, and the inequality of racial capacity for further evolution.

CHAPTER II

RACIAL STRUGGLES IN THE DARK (135–154)

True history began with the *Man of the West*.—I. The most fundamental feature of Race found in the "*Skull Index*."—The three persistent types—the Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic.—II. The *Migration of Peoples*. 1. *Geographical conditions*; 2. *Increase of Population*; 3. *Lust for power*; 4. Migrations, to be effective, must be *domestic*.—III. *Psychological characteristics of the dominant European races*.—1. Mediterranean; 2. Alpine; 3. Nordic.—IV. *America the destined area* for the final admixture of races.—What will be the *physical characteristics* of the Future Man?

CHAPTER III

HISTORIC DAWNS (155–174)

I. *Physical features of the Mediterranean littoral.*—The climate. —II. *The River-civilisations.*—Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria.— III. *Why these civilisations perished.* 1. Physical conditions; 2. Unstable relation to environment; 3. Limitations of ethnic religions; 4. Our permanent debt to the vanished River-civilisations.

CHAPTER IV

THE BREAKING DAY (175–196)

The *Sea-civilisations*, centreing round the three significant cities of ancient times—Athens, Rome, Jerusalem—as the fountain-heads of our modern world.—I. *Our intellectual debt to Athens.* —II. *Our Sociological debt to Rome.*—III. *Our spiritual debt to Jerusalem*

CHAPTER V

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD (197–217)

The problem of modern civilisation has been to unify into one organic system the disparate contributions of the Greek, Roman and Hebrew peoples. This ideally done in and through Jesus Christ.—I. Summary statement of His unifying work.— II. His *Doctrine of God.*—The Divine Fatherhood as a unifying power.—III. *His Doctrine of Man.*—The spiritualising of human nature.—The significance of the individual.—The fundamental Moral Order.—The Sacredness of Moral Freedom. —IV. *His Doctrine of Nature* as an orderly, beneficent, genial environment for life.—The physical world for Him was fundamentally spiritual.—V. *His Doctrine of Destiny.*—VI. *The Kingdom of God.*

BOOK III

THE FUTURE—MAN'S UNFINISHED TASKS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION (221–225)

I. The *oscillatory character* of the evolutionary process.—Periods of rapid *advance*, and *stagnation*, of slow *decay.*—Probable causes of this uncertainty.—II. The rapid advance in Europe during last few centuries the result of the *efflorescence* of the *physical and human Sciences;* creating *an entirely fresh situation for the human race.*—During the last two hundred years, six great problems solved by science, bequeathing six more difficult problems as their legacy. The solving of these constitute the tasks of the immediate future for mankind.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF POWER (226–238)

I. Man's recent mastery of the physical forces, and what this has meant for mankind.—1. The conquest of distance and the economy of time; 2. The enlargement of the natural range of the senses; 3. The extension of control over physical organisms; 4. The industrial harnessing of natural energies.—II. The problem is—*What uses are these expansions of power going to bring to mankind?*—No assurance at present that these will be of ultimate benefit.—III. There has recently been a *pronouncedly secularistic attitude* towards the natural order, resulting in: 1. The *destruction of natural beauty* in our industrial centres; 2. The *secularisation of nature* has led to the *secularisation of man*; 3. The *secularisation of the use of wealth.* —IV. The remedy lies in a recovery of the ethical and spiritual relation of man to nature as the work of God.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM (239–254)

Ambiguity of the term *Wealth.* Here we restrict it to its *economic* connotation.—The reason why.—The recent invention of machines for productive purposes has solved the problem of the unlimited multiplication of economic wealth.—I. Three results: 1. The *release of the worker and the extension of leisure*; 2. A *vast increase of productive-power*; and 3. The creation of *a world-market* for all goods.—II. *Social effects* of this increased wealth-production.—Social conveniences and luxuries.—The rapid increase of population.—The increasing complexity of human life as a whole.—III. Is the creation of wealth a *real boon to humanity?* Pros and cons. —IV. The tensions created between those representing the three factors of wealth-production.—V. The problem of the *rightful use of wealth* equally difficult and equally important.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONALISM (255–271)

I. The *closer relations of the nations* of the world brought about by the solution of the Problem of Transport.—II. *Three possible alternative solutions:* 1. The *break-up of modern civilisation.* This extremely unlikely; 2. Development of a *Universal Super-state.* The insuperable difficulties in the creation of a world-state; 3. An *enlightened Internationalism* the only feasible solution.—III. *Universal Ethics and National Ethics*—are they incompatible?—IV. Reasons for believing in their ultimate compatibility.—V. Prof. McDougall's criticism of Universal Ethics as a practical creed.—VI. The final synthesis found in combining the religious and the scientific views of nature and life.

CHAPTER V

BIRTH-CONTROL AND THE PROBLEM OF EUGENICS (272–291)

The discovery of the Secret of Human *Birth-control*.—I. Biological aspects of the problem.—How far mankind has hitherto been under the control of the law of the *survival of the fit*.—II. The remarkable increase in the white population of the world during and since A.D. 1500.—III. How Birth-control is already *threatening his numerical supremacy*.—IV. And, more especially, the *best strains* in the white communities.—V. Why the other races are now rapidly increasing in numbers.—VI. The *Remedy* is the application of an enlightened science of Eugenics to the problem of population.—VII. *Objections raised* by opponents.—Reply to these objections.—THE RACE OF THE FUTURE.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION, AND THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE (292–306)

The *present conflict of Religions*.—I. *Is humanity dependent on any religious faith* in the future?—The functions of Science and Religion mutually complementary.—II. Only *three possible rivals* as world-religions—Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity—since these alone have the "universal note."—III. The fundamental tests of a Universal Religion. The DOCTRINE OF GOD.—THE DOCTRINE OF MAN.—THE WORLD-VIEW.—THE MORAL IDEAL and the necessary moral power for its attainment.—ADAPTABILITY TO EXISTING CONDITIONS.—How Christianity meets all these conditions as compared with its rivals.

CONCLUSION (307–313)

A vision of the world as a Divine and Human system of Providential Government when the *Day-Dream of Jesus*—THE KINGDOM OF GOD—has been actually realised on earth.

INTRODUCTION

IN the first volume of this work we dealt with such problems of the Providential Order as could be handled from the Divine point of view, without concerning ourselves except incidentally with those that arise from Man's interference with that Order. The Universe, so far as revealed to us in experience, was accepted as a *datum*, i.e. as a system of facts, forces, and relationships in a given order in space and time; and we endeavoured to show that the course of events within that system is the realisation of a Divine purpose fulfilled on evolutionary lines, and leading up to Man as its earthly climax. Up to this point, we must assume that the world in which we live was as God willed it to be, and such problems as it presented to us were properly problems of Divine Providence.

With the coming of Man, a fresh factor of limited but crucial importance was introduced into the world-process. The Divine will was no longer the only agent at work, for the Creator had given existence to a secondary will capable of real choice between conflicting alternatives of action, and therefore of co-operation with, or of resistance to, His cosmic purpose. This "creative venture" was necessary, in the first place, in order to give meaning to the

evolutionary movement as a whole. It proved that from the beginning, there was something more than mechanism in the mechanistic world of matter; that there was something more than organism in the equally mechanistic world of life; that both matter and life were but *media* through which the Creative Spirit was slowly bringing to birth a created spirit akin to, and capable of entering into fellowship with, Himself. It was necessary, in the second place, in order to initiate a fresh phase of development on a higher plane in which all the gains of the past evolutionary movement should be conserved and at the same time transvaluated. The physical is now seen to be instrumental to the ethical and spiritual; the kingdom of *means* in Nature becomes a kingdom of *ends* in Man. But in this process of transvaluation there are possibilities of downward as well as of upward developments; Man is capable of choosing the wrong instead of the right alternatives of conduct, and so of introducing delay, disturbance, and, so far as his action can affect the outcome, defeat into the process. This is the world as history reveals it to our vision. But history tells us also of another element of transformation that has been progressively unfolded. There had been manifested from the beginning in the evolutionary process a remarkable principle of self-adaption and recovery; and in the Divine-human relationship into which it has ultimately flowered, this principle reappears on a higher level as a Divine Redemptive activity which came into its historical expression in the Person and Work of Jesus Christ. In Him the upward possibilities of the Immanent Order ("the glory of the Son") on the one side; and, on the other, the inflowing energies of God (the ministries of redeeming grace) were simultaneously

realised; and the way of recovery and perfectibility for Man openly revealed. So far the argument in our first volume.

We now pass on to the second stage in our argument, and are facing the problems of Human Providence, by which term we mean, in a general way, that share in the control of mundane affairs, and of his own individual and social destiny, which is Man's highest prerogative. And our initial task is to identify and define the exact function for which Man, according to the Christian Faith, has been created in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose.

It is significant that this function finds a distinct statement in the story of creation in the first chapter of Genesis[1]; that it is reiterated in one of the finest (and, we may say, the most "modernist") of the psalms[2]; and that it is finally embodied in the most philosophic of the New Testament books, in the light of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and of His atoning sacrifice. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, summing up in one sentence the place of Man's earthly vocation and our Lord's priestly office in their organic relations, expresses both thus:—

"For the world to come, of which I am speaking, was not put under the control of angels. One writer, as we know, has affirmed—

'What is man that thou art mindful of him?
'Or the son of man, that thou carest for him?
'For a little while thou has put him lower than the angels,
'Crowning him with glory and honour,
'Putting all things under his feet.'

[1] *Genesis* i. 27–8.
[2] *Psalm* viii.

Now by *putting all things under him* the writer meant to leave nothing out of his control. But, as it is, we do not yet see *all things controlled by man;* what we do see is Jesus, *who was put lower than the angels for a little while* to suffer death, and who has been crowned *with glory and honour* that by God's grace he might taste death for everyone. In bringing many sons to glory, it was fitting that He for Whom and by Whom the universe exists should perfect the Pioneer of their salvation by suffering. For sanctifier and sanctified have all one origin."[1]

"The world to come" here referred to—be it remembered—is not the world beyond the grave, but the present world of matter and life and Man when it has been redeemed by the power of the Son of God—that Messianic kingdom in which at last, after all the windings of the way, God's cosmic purpose for Man has been realised in and through the triumph of the Gospel. This "final end" of the Providential Order had not been realised in the writer's day. It has not been realised in ours; and long ages may pass before the kingdom of God's Son will "come with power." But "nearer is our salvation" than when he wrote prophetically in the bright dawn of the Christian era—that dawn which since then has been so overclouded and often so dark and unpromising. Man's physical dominion over the world in which he lives has been slowly and dearly won; it has been reserved for our own day to see a sudden and far-spread extension of it. But Man's victory over the turbulent and unredeemed elements in his own nature has been still longer delayed. Till he attains to that, his outward sovereignty will prove a doubtful and perilous boon; it may indeed prove for him not

[1] *Hebrews* ii. 5–11A (Moffatt's translation).

" a savour of life unto life, but of death unto death." But the end is not yet. The Christian hope still shines undimmed in the heart of believing men and woman ; the leaven of the Gospel is working slowly through this stubborn materialistic civilisation of ours which is winning its way over the nations and the races of the world—a leaven within a leaven—and it will in the end " leaven the whole loaf."

Our plan will be, first, to deal with the influences and shaping forces which have gone to the making of Man in the dim past, and throughout the ages of history, so far as these have been recovered by scientific enquiry. We shall then outline the story of his " coming " in the dark night of prehistoric time, and the slow dawn of the historic process during which he was making terms with his environment, and preparing himself for his full function of dominating the physical, psychical, and social environment for moral and spiritual ends. Finally we shall indicate the immense tasks that immediately confront him at present. Our vision is limited, as all human vision must be, by the near horizons of time ; what may lie beyond these limits (and indeed within them) can only be dimly guessed ; but we do know that only by envisaging the tasks of the near future, and meeting their challenge with knowledge, courage, and high endeavour, shall we be prepared for what may lie beyond.

BOOK I

THE MAKING OF MAN

"Not God Himself can make Man's Best
Without Best Men to help Him."

[GEO. ELIOT].

CHAPTER I

THE ENVIRONMENT

BEFORE we can deal profitably with Man's place and function on earth, it is needful to have some conception of the world into which he has come as the fruit of a long process of physical and vital evolution. "Man begins" it has been well said, "so to speak, high up in the world of experience, and is in possession at the start of a content and machinery which the world has prepared for him. He is a special utterance and revelation of the Universe in its highest form."[1]

Into his insignificant body have poured the converging currents of organic life, with its long accumulation of aptitudes and potencies; into his mind have been gathered all the psychic processes of his immediate lineal progenitors, which break out in him into a clarity of consciousness, a vividness of feeling, and a spontaneity and purposiveness of will which constitute his special *differentiæ*. Though he has emerged out of Nature into a sense of unique control over his conditions, he is yet organically dependent on her in all the ranges of his being. The history of mankind is intimately interwoven with

[1] *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, by Prof. E. Bosanquet, p. 158.

his relations to the planet on which he lives, and which, in a sense, has produced him; and his slow victory over the conditions of his life has in no way made him independent of these relations. Down to the late medieval period, the race was largely controlled by its environment; and if the situation has since been largely reversed, the change can be understood only by a careful review of the operative factors in his environment, and of the powers which have enabled him to rise to his present phase of real if still partial dominion over it. Let us therefore address ourselves to a consideration of this environment.

I

The first circle of environment with which we are confronted is the material world of which our bodily frame forms an integral part. This material universe is composed of the planet which is Man's home, and of the starry system of which our earth is an insignificant, but apparently highly specialised, fragment. The ancient belief that the earth was the centre of the physical universe has now proved to be a ludicrous illusion, but it was an illusion which was of great benefit to the human race during those long ages when man was less able than he is to-day to assert himself against the tremendous forces of Nature. We know now that the earth is a somewhat obscure member of a planetary system revolving round the sun, and that the sun, which is but a minor member of a countless host of other suns, revolving round some unknown centre in an orbit so vast that astronomers have so far not been able to give the mathematical value of its orbital curve. Imagination is utterly unable to

cope with the vastness of the physical universe to which we belong. To all intents and purposes, our conception of space is something infinitely extended in all directions, which has no ascertainable boundary, and which, so far as we know, is everywhere peopled by stellar systems more or less similar to our own. The one thing which we do know with something like confidence is that it is a *universe*, and that matter is everywhere more or less homogeneous, obedient to the same laws, associated with the same order of forces, and following the same sequence of changes. This enlargement of outlook applies to time as well as space, and the creation which down to a few centuries ago was supposed to date back only some six thousand years, now stretches backward illimitably, so that no man can tell when it began to be, nor even whether it had a "beginning."

The mental effect of these expansions of the spacial and temporal horizon has been enormous. In proportion to the enlargement of our view of the whole, our conception of the earth itself has shrunk almost to vanishing point.

Were it not for another compensating fact which has to some extent preserved our sense of spiritual importance, this sense of the magnitude of the physical universe would be enough to fill Man with a feeling of hopeless insignificance. That fact is that, so far as can at present be ascertained, there is no other creature, at least within the ranges of the planetary system, of equal dignity with himself. True, present-day scientists are becoming modest in drawing positive conclusions from evidence which is so largely negative; at the same time such evidence as is available does suggest that the conditions which have resulted in the evolution of Man do not exist anywhere but on this "homely earth," and

that in all the bright constellations above there is no one who is his peer. From the wider cosmological point of view, there is something that looks like an anti-climax in the fact that in the fine balancings and chances of the evolutionary process, the emergence of the highest created race of beings should only be possible in this obscure point of space, and during this passing phase of time. These considerations have, indeed, been interpreted by antitheistic writers as evidence of the purposeless and fortuitous character of the evolutionary process. Our sense of symmetry, if nothing else, would suggest either that the highest products should occur at the centre (if there be a centre) round which the whole system revolves, or that the same results should be attained in turn in every portion of the universe. We are here, however, in the region not of safe inference, but of irresponsible speculation. The fact remains that, so far as we know, Man is not only supreme on earth, but throughout the whole ranges of stellar space and of geologic time.

We turn, then, with renewed interest to the consideration of the unique planet, and of its history, which has produced this extraordinary result. The first relevant fact which arrests our attention is that *the earth*, in the course of its evolution, *is passing through a phase favourable to the production and the maintenance of life*, in profuse and infinitely varied forms.[1] What then are the conditions favourable

[1] Mr. Lawrence J. Henderson, Assistant Professor of Biological Chemistry in the University of Harvard, U.S.A., sums up a careful and detailed study of the forms of matter that are necessary to the production and maintenance of life, in his work on *The Fitness of the Environment*, in the words—" The whole evolutionary process, both cosmic and organic, is one, and the biologist may now rightly regard the universe as in its very essence, biocentric " (p. 312). This conclusion is further elucidated in his subsequent work, *The Order of Nature* (passim).

to life? As regards the matter of which the earth is composed, they are such that it is capable of being found simultaneously in three forms—solid, liquid, and gaseous, and in forms which are intermediate between all three. The human body is composed of all three. Its inner bony structure is solid; its flesh is semi-solid; its blood and many of its secretions are liquid; its breath is gaseous. Our bodies are thus seen to be composed of carefully adjusted forms of matter in each of its physical stages. As waste and repair go on constantly in us, we are dependent upon the supply of edible matter—and it must be organic matter, matter, that is, which has passed through the bodies of other creatures, vegetable or animal—in suitable states of solidity or solution, while the waste in our blood is perpetually repaired through the supply of oxygen from the air, assimilated in the process of breathing. Life depends also for its healthful maintenance not only upon food, but upon temperature. There is only a comparatively narrow range between the extremes of cold and heat within which life can be maintained. Below and above that limit it is inevitably destroyed; and even within these limits, sudden changes are apt to affect prejudicially the vital powers of our delicately balanced constitutions, and to produce diseases which may at any moment bring our existence to a sudden and premature close. There is thus a very intimate relation between our physical frame and the environment on which it depends. Within large limits our constitution is capable of automatic adjustment to the ever fluctuating external conditions. There is another limit within which, by the exercise of judgment and foresight, these fluctuations can be met or guarded against; but beyond these boundaries

neither the adaptability of the organism, nor the ingenuity of the mind in modifying our environment, can avail to preserve or to prolong life. In a burning building, or on the foodless Arctic ice-cap, or in the act of falling down a precipice, life finds itself suddenly brought up against impossible conditions, and comes to an end.

It has often been urged by scientists that in the mutual relation between life and its environment *all adaptation has to come from the side of the organism.* It is a familiar theme of the poets that Nature is indifferent to Man. From one aspect there is a painful sense of irrelevancy in the sweep of physical law in relation to human life, its interests, its hopes, and its destiny. At times this sense has developed into a deep discouragement under the stress of wild turmoils of weather, volcanic upheavals, desolating fires, and sudden climatic changes which have swept away whole communities, or slowly starved them into extinction. The general educative effect of this fact upon that portion of the race which has survived will be noted later on. Meanwhile, let us clear away the confusion of thought which is responsible for a good deal of practical pessimism in our attitude towards nature. It is quite true that all *individual* adaptations between the organism and its environment come from the former. This, however, does not mean that our environment is on the whole unfavourable to us. In that case, indeed, none of us would be left to criticise it. What is true is, that our environment contains certain elements that are unfavourable to our vital interests, but the very word " adaptation " suggests the correction of any pessimistic inferences which we are apt to draw when under the stress of a fatal calamity or of some crucial disadvantage

proceeding from the environment. Adaptation to what? *To something in nature which is favourable to our interests.* It is a part of life's endowment that it is capable of developing helpful relations with the favourable elements around it; that is to say, the universe in general is not alien or indifferent to life, but contains all the conditions necessary to give it the amplest opportunity of coming to its fulness, and life has been endowed with the selective capacities that enable it to steer its adventurous way through the favouring or inhibiting conditions in the physical world. The Being who has produced both nature and man has thus given to him the power of turning nature to his own uses, and nature has that in her which answers to the call.

II

The second circle of environment with which Man has come in contact is that of the *living creatures* which were in the world before him, in conflict or companionship with which he found himself when he awoke to a sense of his place in the world. In primitive times this element in his surroundings must have been of immense importance. Geologic remains bear witness to the extinction since Man came upon the scene, of enormous mammals, of which to-day the whale, the elephant, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus are the only living representatives; and there were reptiles, long since vanished, of terrifying aspect, and we may well believe of enormous appetite—of which the crocodile is the chief survivor—with which Man had to wage an almost ceaseless warfare. Probably also huge creatures inhabited the

air as well as the water with which he had to compete for place and power in the earth's surface. We have only to exercise a little imagination to realise how potent a factor this living environment must have been in the experience and education of the race. It was not till a comparatively late period in his history that Man learnt the art of domesticating certain animals, and for still longer, these must have been few compared with the number of fierce and dangerous beasts with which he had to compete for his place on earth, and in the struggle with which he found a potent incentive to the exercise of his faculties. This, and the fact that animal food, at least in the temperate and colder regions, formed a large part of his sustenance, makes it certain that Man's earliest occupation was that of a hunter. This made his life extremely precarious as well as exciting, for as a hunter he could not lay up stores for any length of time, so that abundance and scarcity must have alternated pretty regularly in his daily experience, and when the weather was unfavourable, or the supply of animal food was insufficient, starvation often stared him in the face. Nevertheless the total environment of the race was so far favourable that while doubtless there were occasions when whole tribes and possibly races succumbed to the inroads of famine, the race as a whole survived and was developed in intelligence by the exercise of the qualities which made it successful in the struggle with the brute force of some animals and the cunning and resourcefulness of others. Hunger is a great stimulant to effort; so is the excitement and plot-interest of the chase.

The beginnings of a more stable life became possible with the development of the art of domesticating and rearing animals fit for food, such as the cow, the goat,

and the sheep, and of others such as the horse, ass, camel and dog, which could be trained to bear his burdens or assist him in the chase. In this way Man made use of his living environment, whether hostile or friendly, for his own ends, and laid the foundations of that wonderful hegemony of Nature which in recent times has borne so rich a harvest of results.

But Man has probably always been a *herbivorous* as well as a flesh-eating creature. In the earliest stages of his existence he would be largely dependent on fruits and vegetables in their wild state—a physiological feature derived from his "arboreal progenitors." Later on he discovered the fact that he was able to improve the quantity and the quality of his supplies of vegetable food by cultivating them, which was a great step towards steadying and enriching his sources of supply, for he could now lay up stores for times of scarcity, and for the long barren months of winter. Thus Man became a worker as well as a hunter; the sportsman and herdsman were gradually merged in the agriculturist. In this way the foundation of the settled community was laid, and the beginnings of civilisation became possible by the release of Man's faculties for a higher and more peaceful use.

III

We now come to the *third line of environment* which has from the beginning surrounded mankind—that *provided by its social character*. There never was a time when the individual was not born into a rudimentary social circle. The very first family was composed of at least three persons—the two parents and their tiny offspring (for the family is not complete

without the child). The earliest families must have been, on the average, small in number; the unsettled and precarious conditions of living would make it impossible to feed many mouths at a time.[1] But around the family was the tribe, for the race was descended from a gregarious ancestry; thus from the very start, there was a social as well as a family environment into which the individual was born. Here we have a fact of prime importance as an educative factor in human life. To be surrounded by adult relatives and friends was to be sheltered from danger, stimulated into mental activity (largely at first imitative), and warmed into sympathy from birth to old age. So strong was this tribal instinct, that it probably dominated every other for long ages, so that the sense of conscious individuality was very slow to emerge; it is indeed fashionable among psychologists to say that the "tribal self" preceded the "individual self" in consciousness. And even when the sense of individual selfhood had been stirred into activity, the social instincts of humanity were in no way hindered by it; for the good of the individual has always been intimately bound up with that of the community, and Man is pre-eminently—nay, increasingly—a social creature.

The social instinct, however, did not act uniformly

[1] The infanticide which is still not uncommon among certain savage tribes does not rise necessarily from a sense of callousness or cruelty, but from the fear lest the resources of the tribe will be insufficient to feed more than a certain number of little ones. The real attitude of such people towards children is seen in the fact that unless the child is killed immediately after birth, it is never killed at all, owing to the affection which soon awakens towards it. Savages as a matter of fact are inordinately fond of their offspring, and often put the civilised man to shame by their faithfulness and willingness to sacrifice themselves for their young in times of peril and difficulty. (See further, p. 79 f.)

in the direction of friendly intercourse. Tribal unity involved from the beginning internal rivalries and inter-tribal antagonisms; and out of this arose a factor of immense significance in the career of humanity which is compressed into that little word of tragic meaning—War. The relics of primitive Man are almost entirely composed of two classes of implements—tools and weapons; and the weapons largely preponderate. Some of these would of course be capable of being used in the chase as well as in human conflict, but many were manifestly intended chiefly, if not entirely, for offence or defence in personal or tribal combats. We shall later on deal more at length with the place that war has occupied in the destiny and development of the race; here our object is to indicate the bare fact that the social environment around the individual and tribal "self" has from the first been one of friction as well as mutual aid, and that this constant element of stress has been one of the most potent influences in the experience and education of the race. Man's friendship with his fellows, his family relationships, his tribal claims, his enmities, jealousies, competitions and mortal combats—these have from of old been the warp and woof of his daily thought and experience; and it is in virtue of these that he has become the being he is more than from any other environal influence.

IV

Have we as yet done with the ever narrowing circles of environal presences round the human race which we have so far described? The outermost circle was that of inanimate Nature—the physical

world in all its vastness and terror, glory and beauty; the second was the brute creation, with which Man had to compete for his place and which he used for his food; the third is the human family and tribe, which grip his affections in varying measure, or which awaken his lower passions of jealousy, wrath, and revenge. Is this all?

Nay. Man is spirit as well as body, and there is an environment for his soul as well as for his physical organism, of which he has been conscious from the earliest dawn of his career on earth. He has always found himself in the presence of a pervading spiritual mystery. Until comparatively recent times, he never dreamt of putting the material and spiritual factors in his life into contradistinction, much less in opposition to each other. To primitive minds the material world was not something from which the Divine is separated by an impassable chasm; it was the first and most impressive channel along which the sense of the Divine found its way into the soul. The phantasmagoria of natural scenery; the haunting influences of darkness and shadow; the ceaseless alternations of weather—gloom and sunshine, lightning and thunder, storm and calm, the blue sky and the threatening cloud; the kindly procession of the seasons, with the occasional failure of crops and fruit; the terror of mountain chasms and precipices; the mingled awe and security of forests; the sound of falling waters, varying from the gentle ripple of brooks to the thunder of plunging cataracts; the vistas of the morning, the mysterious fading of light at gloaming;—all these natural processes must have exercised a perpetual and cumulative influence on the primitive mind in bringing home a sense of spiritual presences round the human soul. There is no

record indeed of any period in the history of the race when it was not profoundly religious in this sense, and it is certain that the chief agents in making it so were the mystic effects of Nature on his sensitive soul. As Professor Illingworth writes: "Matter has, *as a fact*, from the very dawn of human history ministered to the religious development of spirit; and when we remember what religion is, and all that it has done for man, it is not too much to say that among all the ministries of matter, this, its service to religion, is beyond all comparison the chief."[1]

Nature, however, only suggested the raw material of religion; the defining principle was furnished by the contribution of man's spiritual life. From very earliest times, there must have been a sense in man of something or someone other and higher than his own bodily presence—a feeling which would be fostered greatly by the fact of dreams and visions, in which the soul would be felt to be separable, and often away from, the body. Dreams in which the dead appeared to the living would emphasise this growing conviction, and thus the belief in survival over death would arise and become a potent factor in human life. A fuller treatment of this question is reserved for a later point in our argument; here the bare fact is all we are concerned with in considering the environal influences that have gone to the "Making of Man."

[1] *Divine Immanence*, p. 48.

CHAPTER II

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—GENERAL

IN comparing Man with his animal relatives and predecessors, we are met at once with the paradox that there is so little to distinguish him physiologically from them, though mentally he is so immeasurably apart from them. "While for zoological man," writes Mr. Fiske, "you can hardly erect a distinct family from that of the chimpanzee and the outang; on the other hand, for psychological man you must erect a distinct kingdom; nay, you must even dichotomise the universe, putting man on one side and all things else on the other."[1] In this chapter we have to consider and endeavour to delimit this distinction between man and the "lower creatures."

I

The first thing we note is that man physically is not only so closely related to the rest of the creatures inhabiting this planet as to be practically subsumed within a certain family of prehuman ancestors (the primates), but that he is in many respects far less highly endowed than they are for both offence and

[1] *Through Nature to God*, p. 82.

defence. His armoury of natural weapons is peculiarly inefficient. He has no physical equipment with which to meet successfully the lion's fang, the tiger's claw, the brute mass of the buffalo, the weight and onset of the elephant. He is not amphibious like the frog; he cannot steer his flight through the air like a bird; he cannot burrow through the earth like a mole. He has no protective covering like the hide of animals to shelter him against the inclemencies of the weather, or the changes of the seasons, or the attacks of hostile creatures. He has not the fleetness of foot or wing of the more helpless creatures, such as would enable him to win safety by flight when he cannot command it by force or stratagem. Indeed, there are traces in his organism of deterioration and degeneracy; he is far more susceptible to diseases than most animals; he is sensitive beyond many of them to the effects of climate and of changeable weather. If man has won his way to the lordship of the world, it must be for reasons that have little or nothing to do with his physical qualities.

We must even go a step further than this. The inferiority of man invades the psychic realm in at least one direction, for he is far less highly endowed with that important psycho-physical aptitude which we call *instinct* than are the creatures around him. If instinct means the "faculty of acting in such a way as to produce certain ends without foresight of the ends, and without previous education in the performance," then the smallest insect in entering the world is at an advantage as compared with man.[1]

[1] "Has the bird a gland for the secretion of oil? She knows instinctively how to press the oil from the gland and apply it to a feather. Has the rattlesnake the grooved tooth and gland of poison? He knows without instruction how to make both structure and function most effective against his enemies. Has the silkworm

Man's infancy is longer and more helpless than that of any other creature; and were it not for the strong parental instinct which welcomes him on his arrival and takes care of him through the long years of his physical and mental adolescence, he would of course never have survived at all. He is endowed with many relics of animal instincts, and he has many others of a vaguer kind that appear in due order in the course of his individual development, but they mostly belong to the social side of his nature, and are intermingled with the working of his reasoning faculties in such a way as to make it difficult to identify them. Many of these are rather predispositions to the *stimuli* of training and education than fully equipped instincts on their own account. The most pronounced are those that belong to infancy proper, such as the instincts of *sucking*, *seeking the breast*, *clasping* an object which touches the fingers or toes, *crying* at bodily discomfort, carrying an object to the mouth, etc.; but these are very simple movements and are really appeals to parental notice, which without the presence of the nurse or mother would fail to obtain their satisfaction. Later on come the instincts to *sit up*, *stand*, and *walk*, each of which demands the help of an adult before the infant realises its capacity for independent movement. Then comes that most important instinct of *vocalisation*, which lies at the basis of language, and which is still more dependent

the function of secreting the fluid silk? At the proper time she winds the cocoon which she has never seen, as thousands before have done; and thus without pattern, instruction or experience, forms a safe abode for herself in the period of transformation. Has the hawk talons? She knows by instinct how to wield them most effectively against the helpless quarry." (P. A. Chadbourne; *Instinct*, p. 28.) Compare this with man's helplessness to do even the most necessary acts without training.

on the direction and training of others in order to become intelligent and fruitful. *Imitation, emulation, pugnacity, sympathy*, are social instincts that develop later, and continue, if duly exercised, through life. *Hunting*, a complex instinct, is an amalgam of many qualities which had an exaggerated importance in the infancy of the race, and still survives as a passion in many civilised individuals, and among some races (such as the Anglo-Saxon). The sentiments of *fear, shyness, dread* of the dark, of precipitous heights, of thunder and lightning, and the strange feeling of nervous apprehension which some persons experience when crossing an open space without shelter,[1] are surviving instincts of earlier stages of evolution which still have occasional utility. But when all is said, what are these rudimentary hesitant instincts in mankind, compared with the elaborate and complicated instinctive equipment of the lower animals? Much that is born in animals full-grown as instinct has in man to be painfully and tentatively acquired. If he reaches a higher point of development ultimately in adult life, this is at the expense of having shed many of his animal instincts, and of being obliged to depend on other aptitudes peculiar to himself for his wellbeing. By way of compensation there is one instinct which has not only survived, but has been developed to an extent which is unique and unparalleled. This is the *parental* instinct, which is among the most delicately organised, passionate, and persistent of all human qualities. It is one of the compensatory features of our nature, which has been

[1] This is a survival of prehistoric times, when lonely crossing of such open spaces would probably be accompanied with peril, though now it appears only as a form of disease. Compare the exaggerated "agoraphobia" of cats, rodents, etc., who instinctively seek cover and never walk along the centre of a road.

developed to meet the unparalleled helplessness and length of human infancy and childhood.

II

We must rise to another region of facts for the distinctive qualities that make our race supreme. Physically, we find the *differentiæ* of man in the size of his *brain* and the suppleness of his *hand*. The brain, as the unique organ of mind, is developed in him to a fineness of texture that marks him off at once in a class by himself; and the hand is an instrument at the disposal of the brain which, for adaptability to many uses, is paralleled nowhere else in the organic world.[1] The hand indeed is the first rudiment of the

[1] Whether the brain and the hand developed *pari passu* by a collateral process, or the one was the indirect cause of the evolution of the other, is perhaps a moot point; but it does not touch our argument here. "It is often said how well-adapted the hand is to the purpose of the mind; but it would be more correct to say that the hand is mainly the creation of the mind;" (Morris, *A New Natural Theology*, pp. 170, 1), i.e, presumably, the hand was developed by exercise—if such a Lamarckian expression be permissible. To quote the same author again, "It is not improbable that the position of the mind in evolution has been the chief factor in differentiating the body and brain of man from those of the animals most nearly allied to him. It may well be that the great divergency between the brain of the civilised man from that of the savage is due to no other cause than that the former has been continually under the spur of mental exercise." (Ibid.). Compare the following from James's *Psychology*, ii. p. 255, note:—"Cats are notorious for the skill with which they open latches, locks, etc. Their feats are usually ascribed to their reasoning powers. But Dr. Romanes well remarks (*Mental Evolution*, etc., p. 351 note) that we ought first to be sure that the actions are not due to mere association. A cat is constantly playing with things with her paws; a trick accidentally hit upon may be retained. Romanes notes the fact that "the animals most skilled in this way need not be the most generally intelligent, but those *which have the best corporeal members for handling things*, cat's paws, horse's lips, elephant's trunk, cow's horns."

tool: and it has been often pointed out that almost every tool is only a hand or some portion of a hand on a larger and more powerful or more delicate scale. It is an incipient claw, lever, hammer, chisel, gouge, file, pincers, crane, lever and clamp. Some of the most complicated machines are designed to perform on a large scale mechanical duties done adaptively by the hand. The wheel and the pulley are almost the only types of mechanism which are not suggested by some movement or function of the hand with its five digits, and its opposable thumb. Whatever disadvantage man may be suffering from physically as compared with some animal or other, there is none of them that does not here fall hopelessly into the background. With a brain such as his as an organ of mind, and a hand such as he has to perform its behests, man has had an advantage from the outset in the race for life and power which only needed time and opportunity in order to place him in his present position of indubitable superiority over all the animal creation.

III

But we must leave the regions of biology and physiology, and pass into that of Psychology before Man's uniqueness comes clearly into sight. This fact has indeed been so frequently laboured in books of comparative psychology that it is needful to refer only briefly to this subject, in so far as it is needful for our special purpose.

1. What differentiates the human from the animal mind is not an increased sense-perception; here again Man is often at fault as compared with the inferior animals, whose senses in many cases are far

keener and more discriminating. But these sense-perceptions are but the raw material of mind in its proper meaning. Behind or within or above the foreground of sense-experience there is in man that unanalyzable something which makes him a *reasoning* being. Whether animals have what may be called the *rudiments* of the reasoning faculty may be questioned; the answer does not affect the problem radically, however interesting it may be.[1] There is indeed much in common between the mind of man and that of animals; enough at least to make it perfectly clear that the one has developed from the other as its germ. In virtue of this community of nature, man is able to understand animals, to recognise their intentions, to circumvent them when they appear to be inimical to his interests, to sympathise with them when they appear to be in pain, and in the case of friendly creatures to attach them to himself, and so make use of them for his own purposes. As regards that aspect of mind which he shares with them, it differs in that it flows in him in fuller intensity and with a more delicate fineness. He feels more vividly, he remembers more thoroughly, and for a longer period; and he possesses the gift of foresight in an immeasurably greater degree. Still, so far, man is but a finer animal.

2. What, then, distinguishes man as a psychic creature? Fundamentally, as just suggested, *the capacity to realise himself as a conscious, reasoning, individual personality.* This is closely related to the power of forming abstract conceptions, a peculiarity

[1] "So far as reason appears in animals, we may say perhaps that it is reason that possesses them—the reason that is operative in all nature, even in plants, and in purely instinctive operations—than they possess and wield reason." (Orr, *God's Image in Man*, p. 62, footnote.)

possessed by himself alone. The attempt of Romanes and others to prove that animals possess a faculty for "receptual ideas" as a kind of half-way house to the power of abstraction has quite broken down.[1] Even Haeckel distinguishes the "power of conceptual thought and abstraction" in man from "the non-conceptual stages of thought and ideation in the nearest related animals."[2] And by the power of abstraction is meant that capacity "of taking his experience to pieces, and holding apart in thought the various elements composing it; by the power of generalisation he can combine resembling qualities and from them form general notions, or ideas of classes." It is this gift that enables man to manipulate the forces and facts of the objective universe for his own subjective purposes; the "given" becomes the "potential" in his hands, and what *affects* the animal as a bare fact is consciously *used* by him as a means to an end. In this we find the beginning of that immense influence exercised by man over the processes of nature which has changed the face of the globe and made its forces so largely instruments of man's will. This faculty of being able to break up the merely "given" into its component parts, and to recombine them, first conceptually, and then practically, into a new whole, is affirmed by Professor James to be the essential difference between man and brute. Or to put it a little differently—a brute acts almost entirely from impulses flowing from the *contiguity* of ideas, so

[1] See the Author's *Ascent Through Christ*, p. 57 ff. See also Henslow's *Present-Day Rationalism Critically Examined*, pp. 209, 212, 213, 219. In his preface, the last-named author says:—"Man alone has the power of making his abstractions objects of thought. This lies at the basis of all his superior 'God-like' powers. It forms the sharp line of distinction between him and the animal world." (vii.)

[2] *Riddle of the Universe*, p. 38.

that the same antecedent always leads to the same associated consequent acts, while man acts also from a sense of the association of *similarities* and freely recombines his miscellaneous impressions into innumerable fresh groups, according to this general law. A brute thus always acts the same way under similar circumstances; a man may act differently every time, and each time make the world different through the manipulation of his thought.

3. This brings us to another distinction between man and brute—that involved in the capacity for and *possession of language* as a means of storing up the results of thought and of communication with other minds.

The crude beginnings of language are seen in the way a dog or a horse can understand a "sign" or call of its master, and possibly in the "calls" of one animal to another. The distinction between man and brute consists in the fact that whereas an animal can merely *recognise* a sign, it cannot consciously and deliberately *originate* one; while man pursues the art of sign-making with deliberate intention. "The linguistic impulse in man is generalised and systematic. For things hitherto unnoticed or unfelt, he *desires* a sign before he has one. Even though a dog should possess his 'yelp' for this thing, his 'beg' for that, his auditory image 'rat' for a third thing, the matter for him rests there. If a fourth thing interests him for which no sign happens to have been learned, he remains tranquilly without it and goes no further. But the man *postulates* it, its absence irritates him, and he ends by inventing it. *This* GENERAL *purpose constitutes, I take it, the peculiarity of* HUMAN SPEECH, and explains its prodigious development."[1]

[1] James's *Principles of Psychology*, ii. p. 356.

This impulse to originate signs is closely associated with the power of abstraction and generalisation already referred to, and would be impossible were it not for the fact that man can mentally abstract "qualities" of objects from objects themselves, and associated with these qualities certain signs we call words, which when sounded or read serve to recall the qualities and the corresponding objects in which these qualities inhere. When man arrived at this stage, he began a fresh line of development, both individual and social, and laid the basis for all the wonderful possibilities of art and literature and of the higher social and intellectual life of the race. For consider the immense value of language as an instrument of thought.

i. In the first place, it is almost an *essential factor in clear individual thinking*. A thing, or an idea, that has not received a name is never mentally clear or distinct; it is neither vividly distinguished from other objects, nor is its particular content grasped firmly in its several parts. When a child can be got to associate its name with any thing, it is able to think fruitfully about it, but not before; and any fresh acquisition of thought by an adult is attained almost invariably through the mastery of some word not previously known or realised. Without a well-understood vocabulary no long or complicated course of thought can be pursued by the most intelligent mind. The possession of a rich and varied language is thus a prime condition of a progressive intellectual life for the individual or the community; and, other things being equal, that nation will surpass others which possesses the most fluent and adaptive tongue. The reciprocal relations of language and nationality is a subject that has not yet received the attention it deserves.

ii. Secondly, language being essentially a social fact,[1] it is easy to see that the value of social life depends almost entirely on the possession of language *as a medium of intercourse*. By means of it the individual can share his experience, and his thoughts about it, with his fellows. Thus, the communal mind receives the benefit of the experience of the individual minds that compose it; and the individual enjoys the immense benefit of sharing the accumulated experience of the community. The barriers of individuality are broken through by language; each man shares in the general mind and in turn contributes, in his own measure, to enrich it.

iii. Thirdly, language serves to *conserve the results of past thinking*, and to place each generation in possession of the stored up mental results of previous generations. Every word is in a sense a fossil thought —a record of what has gone by; in another sense it

[1] Even the cries of animals and infants suggest this. "Every advance in language implies not only that men have more to say to one another, but also that a larger fund of agreed notions has been arrived at which may be put into words . . . We can imagine the invention and gradual perfecting of the prehistoric talk without the use of language . . . but we cannot imagine the formation of a clearly articulate social order without language, still less can we imagine the appearance among men of that world of fancy and speculation which was to them both science and religion." This last fact shows how closely the possession of language and the development of the reasoning faculty are related. Without language there can be no sustained process of abstract thought. (See F. S. Marvin's *The Living Past*, pp. 23, 4.) We must associate the development of language, however, not so much with the reasoning as with the imaginative powers. Early man used it more to express the revel of his fancy than the results of his logical gift. Thus, all words, even the most abstract, are pictorial in their primary meaning. It is from this point of view alone that we can account for the wealth of vocabulary in ancient and more primitive languages. As the power of abstraction grew, words, originally physical in their origin, gradually became the instruments of pure, i.e. abstract, thought.

is a storage-battery of ideas, both in its actual contents and its suggestions; it preserves and lets loose into the communal life the mental wealth of the best thinkers of the past. Thus it comes about that animals begin in each generation just where the last began; while men begin very largely, at least in their adult mental life, where the last ended. And in this way progress becomes possible, and in a measure inevitable.

iv. There is one other feature of language that must be noted—its *plastic quality*, in virtue of which words change and enrich their content from age to age as the race using them accumulates fresh experience. This leads to much ambiguity; but it is also a sure sign and guarantee of progress. Languages lose this plastic quality only when the nations speaking them lose their sense of organic unity and their instinct for progress. In the hands of a vital and developing race words are full of light and colour; they grow richer in meaning and in suggestiveness as time goes by; they become instruments of power and symbols of beauty, and have the capacity of stirring the mind to a sense of the boundless range and wealth of the world of thought. The *stimulating* and inspiring function of noble language is one of its finest functions as an instrument of education for the race. It puts the thought of the greatest minds at the service of the meanest that can rise to its level. It is the last and in a sense the crowning factor in the physical and intellectual equipment of Man for his providential function.

IV

We have now in a measure mapped out the ground of superiority possessed by man over his humble

congeners, but it will be useful to pause here that we may relate the qualities already described to the conditions of human life, and point out how they enable him to affect and conquer that environment.

As a self-conscious, observing, reasoning being, possessing all the advantages involved in these qualities, with the added gift of language to store up and to share his experience, Man faces the universe with unbounded possibilities of progress.

Gradually, he came to *recognise in Nature a rational element* akin to his own, and by infinitely slow degrees he has learnt to understand something of its character and trace its methods of working. When he first began his career of rationality, he saw very little of the order that underlay the seeming confusion of the world around him, but was mainly impressed with its apparently chaotic and unfriendly character. His first necessity was to avoid the manifold dangers that surrounded him, and to procure food for himself and his family. By slow stages he discovered the uses of rudimentary weapons and tools, whereby he was able to supplement his own weak and inefficient physical resources; later on he came to understand something of the beneficence that slept under the seeming hostility or indifference of nature, and how to turn this to his own benefit. By learning to *obey* the laws of nature he struck out those lines of activity of which in the animal world we find scarcely a sign, in virtue of which he gradually gained the upper hand over his environment.

1. In the first place, he discovered long ago that though he could not create a particle of force, he *could turn existing forces into channels marked out by him for his own purposes*. When Man spread the first sail to a favouring breeze, or first lifted a

stone by means of a wooden lever, or sped the first arrow from a bowstring, he started a process which to-day covers the ocean with hurrying steamships, and the lands with express trains, and is fast filling the air with flying argosies conveying goods and men to the ends of the earth. In other words, he found out *how to use a small power so as to get the operation of a power greater than his own to do his work for him.* In this way the sailor steers his vessels through storms and contrary currents, turning their huge bulk about by means of a "very small helm"; the husbandman ploughs the soil and sows his seed so as to secure a hundredfold harvest; the engineer, by setting a tiny spark to a powerful explosive, tunnels through mountains or blows them bodily out of his way. Man could never do any of these things by drawing directly on his own muscular energies, but he has been able to change the face of the world, by offering himself to the great powers of nature in a way that turns them into his service. Man is *nature's Steersman,* and makes her carry him whither he wills.

2. A second function performed by man is that of a *Builder.* Here he utilises the static forces of nature as in the former he does her dynamic forces, and enlists into his service the stability which lies like a solid background over against the whirl of forces in the foreground. So the rude hut has developed into the triumphs of architectural art, man's cities fill many valleys, and the world has become a domicile for vast populations.

3. Combining these functions, Man has developed another unique gift, and become an *Inventor of Machines,* first imprisoning the vagrant forces around him in cunning mechanisms, then letting them loose in ways useful to himself. This is the latest aptitude to which he

has attained ; and in its effects it is the most wonderful of all ; for it means that the universe has been re-discovered and appropriated from the human point of view. He has found that nature hides behind her placid face a whirlwind of pent-up power ; that every particle of matter is a centre of energy ; that what we call solid substances are only fiercely gyrating force-centres ; and that all these are capable of being harnessed to human uses. The puny body of man has always been the least important part of him. It is now of less account than ever, except as the physical basis and instrument of his mind, which is rapidly transforming the earth into a kind of organism of which man is the nerve-centre.

And wonderful as have been the recent triumphs of human inventive genius, it is impossible to put a limit to its future possibilities. The question at present, indeed, is not how far man can still go in the direction of steering through or harnessing the currents of physical force, but whether he will use these newly-won powers over Nature for the truest and highest ends, or fall a victim to a too rapid extension of his opportunities. On this subject we shall have more to say at a later stage in our argument.

CHAPTER III

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR

I. THE INTELLECTUAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN DEVELOPMENT

"The Animal feels the cosmos, and *adapts* himself to it. Man feels the cosmos, but he also *thinks* it."

G. H. Lewis.

WE have now sent a rapid if somewhat cursory glance over the general equipment of man for the hegemony of Nature. In order to understand his distinctive place in creation more thoroughly we must now look a little more closely at the function of mind in the control of our human environment. When we speak of man's uniqueness as mental and spiritual, what exactly do we mean?

I

Psychic activity is known to us only in close-knit relation with that type of organised matter which is possessed by living beings. It is, in other words, one of the manifestations of life. Life, it is true, is larger than consciousness, but consciousness is, so far as our earthly order is concerned, manifested only by living creatures. There is also more in mind than is any time represented in consciousness, which

may be "likened to a searchlight which throws its light here and there over a landscape. Consciousness is the illumined portion at any particular time; mind is the whole area that is capable of being illumined by consciousness."[1] Many of the most complicated functions of life take place regularly without any accompanying consciousness; often we become conscious of them only in moments of disturbance (e.g. during digestive derangement), while some automatic or sensori-motor actions, though capable of being represented in consciousness, are better performed when the subject is unaware of their occurrence. Further, certain operations which require a vivid and almost painful consciousness for their inception and mastery are, later on, performed sub-consciously, as the movement of the fingers when playing musical instruments, or in writing a letter. It is thus necessary to ascertain more carefully the precise functional value of consciousness in the conduct of human life.

We have said that mind is a term of larger meaning than consciousness. The latter is the name for *a state of awareness* of certain more or less acute experiences, and is intermittent; while the former may be defined as "the permanent unity of which we conceive any given act of consciousness to be the temporary condition or state."[2] Or we may say that consciousness is mind becoming aware of itself in any one of its states, while mind is the possible range of awareness in any given individual.

How far back in the animal series can consciousness or mental awareness be traced? This must be purely a matter of inference and probability, but "so far as our information goes consciousness must be carried

[1] L. T. Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

down to the lowest animal types," [1] while some writers would posit a faint and undifferentiated form of consciousness even among vegetables. The significant fact is that its range and vividness apparently deepens and spreads in closest relation to the advancing complexity and efficiency of the nervous system, and that it reaches its highest development in mankind. The natural inference is that its function has a vital relation to the upward movement of life.

II

In the sub-conscious or faintly conscious form, it is probable, as we have seen, that mind is a " function " of life from the beginning. What amount of mentality or consciousness is possessed by an ascidian is indeed a problem impossible to determine ; all we can say is that it behaves as though it had a dim apprehension of its surroundings, and guided itself according to its organic needs. Life in all its forms is characterised by a power of adaptation to its environment. It not only responds to stimulus, but even in its earliest stages it possesses a rudimentary power of selecting the *kind* of response which it shall make ; some kinds of stimuli it welcomes, others it rejects, and reacts against ; others it uses for specific ends, and whether it will do the one or the other depends on the compatibility of the stimulus with the vital interests. Now this in its developed form is the work of *intelligence*, whose central attribute is the *conscious selection of means to ends*. But long before it arrives at this developed form, the " mental " factor in living beings

[1] L. T. Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, p. 56 footnote.

passes through intermediate stages in which the selective process can scarcely be described as fully, if at all, conscious. For instance in *reflex action* (as when we draw away our hand from sudden contact with a hot surface) the act *precedes* the consciousness, and is sometimes performed without consciousness. Again, in instinctive action the most elaborate adaptive functions are performed, apparently automatically, but with a quasi-purposive directness which no conscious act can surpass in the close adaptation of means to ends. Bergson, in his *Creative Evolution*, points out that life develops along three distinct and divergent paths, that of torpor in vegetable life, that of instinct in animals, that of intelligence in mankind. He connects consciousness closely with power of movement; the more immobile an organism is, the less keen its consciousness, and vice versa. Thus, the vegetable slumbers mentally; the animal passes its existence probably in a dream-like state; man alone is fully alert and awake. *Each has the amount and quality of mentality just suited to the due performance of its vital functions.* That is to say, *biologically*, the function of mind in its various stages of "awareness" is *to secure the permanence of the species through the survival and development of the individual.* As life struggles upwards into fullest expression, mind struggles *pari passu* into fullest consciousness, till in man that consciousness reaches its earthly climax because it is pre-eminently a condition of his self-preservation and self-realisation. At this stage mind "ceases to be limited by the conditions of its genesis. It becomes self-determining; is guided, that is, by values which belong to its own world; and finally it *begins to master the conditions which first engendered it.* In the end, when we have fairly taken the measure

and grasped the conditions of its growth, we are led to regard the development of mind, not as a side-product of evolution, but as the central fact of the history of life upon the earth." [1]

Leaving aside the lower forms of mental reaction and selection, whether reflex or instinctive, let us consider a little more in detail how consciousness functions in the form of intelligence. It will help us if we take two typical illustrations of its action. Let us suppose that we are walking along a mountain path in misty weather, unconscious that we are approaching a precipice, and that we are lost in a reverie from which we are rudely awakened by a sudden vision of the depths below us, into which another step would plunge us. We start back quickly, turn round, and make our way tortuously to a position of safety. It is clear that we have been saved from disaster by a sudden consciousness of our danger and of the way out. There are here four stages through which we pass mentally. Consciousness fulfils in the first place a *discriminative* function—we recognise the perilous position into which we have unknowingly wandered; secondly, a *directive* function—we see how best to escape from danger; thirdly, a *co-ordinating* function, by suggesting and realising the mental self-control and bodily movements which will take us back to safety; and lastly, a *recollective* function, in virtue of which we store up the whole experience in our memory with a view to avoiding the recurrence of the unpleasant situation in future. The whole of these complex mental operations are involved in the simplest conscious action directed to the safeguarding of our vital interests by reaction against a perilous environment.

[1] L. T Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, pp. 11, 12. (Italics ours.)

Let us now take an illustration of a different kind. Under the pressure of a felt want in industrial life an inventor sets about the construction of a machine which will enable him to produce a certain article, or to expedite a cumbrous process of manufacture. Here the mind consciously explores the environment for the means of attaining a particular end. The inventor is filled with an initial faith that by the mastery of certain possible adaptations in nature (*static* in the material he uses for the construction of his machine, *dynamic* in the forces which will enable it to do its work) certain purposes of his own can be carried out. First, by repeated experiments, he finds how to bring these materials and forces into subjection to this purpose ; ultimately, he co-ordinates and constructs the various parts of the machine and sets it to work. It is clear that in this instance his consciousness fulfils a different and a higher function than that in the first illustration. There he accepted the environment as it was, and *adapted* himself to the conditions imposed on his action ; here he exercises active *control* over his environment, and forces it to minister to his higher needs. In the first case he showed a prudent obedience to a course prescribed for him ; in the second he creates a situation which enables him to secure control over nature's physical energies for his own purposes.

Here then we have the three functions of mind in evolution—the *adaptive*, the *controlling*, and the *creative*. The adaptive power man possesses in common with all the lower creatures ; the controlling he shares to some extent with them ; the creative he alone possesses ; and it is this latter function of mind which gives to man his unique place of hegemony over the world. He who was once the slave of his environment,

able to survive only in virtue of obedience to conditions imposed upon him, now becomes its master, able to rule the winds and the waves, to make the desert blossom like the rose, and to force the wayward forces of cataract, steam, and lightning to do his bidding.

The biological function of consciousness ceases, however, as soon as man has learnt sufficiently to control his environment for vital needs. That stage is but the first chapter in the history of mind, and of its place in evolution. As soon as this lower function is completed, a finer chapter of possibilities opens before it. Released from the perpetual demands of his environment on his watchfulness and adaptability, man is able to use his gifts for higher tasks. Intelligence, in one of its applications to Nature, means "the power of manufacturing artificial objects, especially tools to make tools, and of indefinitely varying their manufacture" for the better and quicker doing of tasks which would otherwise be performed by human labour (or be left undone).[1] Till he arrived at this stage in his evolution man's consciousness was practically "drowned" in providing the bare necessities of life. Now it is set free and made autonomous. This is the great advantage gained by the era of inventions which commenced with the making of tools, and which has more recently been carried to such lengths by the construction of labour-saving implements and machines, which do their work with a minimum of attention. To quote a suggestive illustration from Bergson; "The primitive steam-engine, as Newcomen conceived it, required

[1] Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, p. 146. As compared with instinct, intellect is the faculty of making and using unorganised instruments, while the former is the faculty of using or constructing organised instruments, *ib.* p. 47.

the presence of a person exclusively employed to turn on and off the taps either to let the steam into the cylinder or to throw the cold spirit into it in order to condense the steam. It is said that a boy employed to do this work, and very tired of having to do it, got the idea of tying the handles of the taps with cords to the beam of the engine. The machine then opened and closed the taps itself; it worked all alone. Now if an observer had compared the structure of this second machine with that of the first without taking into account the two boys left to watch over them, he would have found only a slight difference of complexity. But if we cast a glance at the two boys we shall see that whilst one is wholly taken up by watching, the other is free to go and play as he chooses, and that from this point of view the difference between the two machines is radical, the first holding the attention captive, the second setting it at liberty." [1] This illustrates a great step forward in the evolution of mind, and has led to incalculable results. What in earlier ages was purchasable only through the employment of slave labour for the benefit of a small leisured class, has now been made possible for the majority of the race by calling in the aid of mechanical contrivances. Man now becomes the thinker *par excellence*. He has leisure to penetrate further and further into the secrets of Nature, adding constantly to his control over her processes; he can dive into his own inner consciousness, and study the mystery of his own being; he can develop his social qualities and co-ordinate his common energies for common ends; he can lift his eyes heavenward and devote himself to the contemplation of religious realities and to doing the will of God. His active nature is

[1] *Creative Evolution*, pp. 194, 5.

also released from the drudgery of labour and the absorption of his vital needs, for the pursuit of ideals, whether in the region of art or of the spiritual life. Here we come to the highest function of mind—what we have ventured to call the " creative," in which it comes nearest to the prerogative of the Divine. Artists, poets, musicians, dramatists, give new and ideal " form " to the materials provided in consciousness ; their creations become the property of humanity at large, so that we can share their wealth if we cannot emulate their genius. In the institutions of society we find another development of the creative function of mind, in which the concordant efforts of many benefactors working for the social good are crystallised and conserved for the benefit of the race. In virtue of this free activity of the mind a new world of experience is superimposed upon (or developed out of) the physical order, and is gradually enriched with each passing generation—a world of thought, sympathy, and action, in which the mind feels at home because it is its own creation—built up not haphazard, but on lines that are æsthetic, rational, ethical and spiritual. Thus is intellectual, social and religious progress made possible, in which the past and present efforts of the race provide an ever-widening possibility of good for the future.

III

The science of Psychology has now many branches, and one of the most interesting (as it is probably the most conjectural) is the historical. This line of enquiry is interesting because it deals with the story of the development of mind in the race as well as in the individual, the stages of mental development in

the latter being now generally believed to be recapitulatory of the long process of racial evolution.

1. Let us first follow the path of mental development in the individual man.

The *biological* function of mind, as of the nervous system which is its organ, is correlation with a view of serving vital needs.[1] Some of the most elaborate physical correlations, it is true, are made, as we have already pointed out without the aid of consciousness at all. For instance, the blood is kept at an even temperature under varying conditions of heat and cold, by the reflex nervous expansion of the small arteries, thus distributing the blood near the surface of the body, or driving it into the central parts, this process being aided by a similar activity in the sweat-glands and other organs. Of all this we are quite unaware, and over it we have no mental or voluntary control. Similarly, the digestive system performs its wonderful function with admirable regularity and efficiency without any but the faintest conscious accompaniment in times of health. Consciousness normally supervenes only when the co-ordination is slow and *imperfect, or when fresh adjustments have to be made.* To recur to an illustration already used, when I withdraw my hand from contact with a hot object, it is done so quickly that I am only conscious of the movement *after* it is made, and because of the pain it gives. If however I wish for some subjective purpose to show that I am superior to the pain, I consciously hold on, and the reflex movement is suppressed. *Physiologically,* what seems to have taken place is that the wave of excitement which in a

[1] L. T. Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose,* p. 29, ff. The following section is largely a summary of Prof. Hobhouse's careful treatment of this subject.

purely reflex action traverses the lower nerve-centres which function in these movements, now takes a wider arc, involving those higher nerve-centres which are the ' seat ' of consciousness ; *psychologically*, what happens is that the mind now takes the helm and directs fresh movements to modified or new ends, which are associated with other experiences past and future, and possibly with the ends of life as a whole.

The *physiological value of consciousness is thus to form fresh correlations other than those provided for by the organism in its automatic, reflex, or instinctive processes.* These correlations involve adjustments to realised ends, and as these ends become more complex in their character, and involve more and more varied forms of consciousness, then take on an increasingly intellectual aspect. The undifferentiated consciousness of an infant must be correspondingly faint ; but with the growingly complex correspondence of the mind with its environment, an increasingly vivid and discriminating quality of consciousness is developed. In the adult it has become continuous, varied, and active in its controlling influence over environal conditions. Sensations give place to percepts ; these are later subsumed under concepts ; with widening experience these concepts become increasingly abstract ; till the more or less haphazard dictates of common sense are replaced by a system of generalised notions which become fixed guiding principles of conduct. Thus life takes on its fulness of content and intensity, and " man awakes at last, full summed in all his powers."

2. What thus takes place rapidly in the life-history of the individual is now held to have pursued a somewhat similar pathway in the slow history of the race. The mentality of primeval man must have been

intuitive and childlike; reflection would only come by degrees, as called forth by the increasing needs and widening experiences of life; gradually there would be evolved certain rough generalisations, crystallised into useful maxims, which would be passed on from father to son, from mother to daughter, and a certain body of practical wisdom would be evolved for the guidance of the individual, the family and the tribe. Language played an increasing part in the conservation and transmission of this accumulated race wisdom. Every new generation would be put into possession of the past experience of the race, as it grew up into manhood, and would in turn add something to the store. An enormous saving of effort would thus be secured; mistakes and failures which had cost much suffering and disappointment in the past could be avoided; in a measure each generation would begin its experience where the last had left off; other experiences would be added to the pile, though with infinite slowness and many retrogressions; and at last the "steady gain of man" would carry the progressive section of the race out of the twilight of barbarism and savagery into the ever-broadening light of civilisation. We cannot now recover the steps by which this gain was marked; it is mainly since the discovery of handwriting and the beginnings of literature that we can trace the pathway of human progress. Nor has this progress, such as it is, been uniform or continuous. Many races seem to have been devoid of the instinct for improvement, partly, doubtless, for lack of vitality; partly through the pressure of overpoweringly unfavourable conditions; partly owing to the tyranny of more dominant peoples. Other races have contracted vices which have stifled the impulse towards betterment. Still others have

advanced to a certain level of intelligence and social efficiency, and have then become stagnant or even decadent. The line of human advance, such as it is, has thus been sinuous and uncertain; but whether the race as a whole is evolving in certain directions or not (we will return to that later on) there have always been peoples who have shown themselves capable of carrying on the tale of progress for a while, so that the onward movement has never quite been broken at any time during the historic period. Nations rise and fall; civilisations have come and gone; but the intellectual advance of the human race has on the whole been real; and with the ever-increasing machinery for the conservation of the past gains of the human mind, it is not likely that these gains will ever be lost again.

CHAPTER IV

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR

II. THE WILL IN DEVELOPMENT

> "If we could rid ourselves of all pride; if, to define our species, we kept strictly to what the historic and prehistoric show us to be the characteristics of man, and of intelligence, we should perhaps not say *homo sapiens*, but *homo Faber*."
>
> BERGSON.

HUMAN experience is a unity comprising certain distinctive elements which, while separable for reflective thought, are never separated in reality. It is customary to speak of the three primary elements of conscious human experience as thought, feeling, and will or conation. Philosophers have been sharply divided which of these is to be regarded as the most fundamental aspect of mind, the Idealist postulating *intelligence*, the Associationist, *feeling*, the Pragmatist and Activist, *will*, as the basal fact of our conscious life. For our purpose it is not necessary to determine this question; we would merely warn the reader against the peril of forgetting that while it is necessary for purposes of convenience to treat these three elements of mind separately, they are one and indivisible in experience. There is no intellection quite devoid of feeling, or of volitional activity; there is no aspect of feeling that is not more or less intellectually discriminative, or which does not tend towards action of some kind; there is no genuine act of conation

that is not accompanied by some amount of directive intelligence, and of which feeling is not an essential constituent. Without intelligence, which is the mind's *light*, feeling is helpless, will is blind ; without feeling, which is the mind's *heat*, intelligence would work *in vacuo*, and will would be mere impulse ; without will, which is the mind's *energy*, intelligence would be static, feeling would be fruitless and vague ; when all three are present in due co-ordination and interpenetration, the mind is clear, rich and purposeful in its operations.

With this proviso, having given some account of the function of intelligence in evolution, we proceed to deal similarly with the other fundamental aspects of mind, with a view of showing their place in human life.

I

We begin with emphasising the fact that while intelligence can be considered more or less independently, will and feeling are essentially inseparable, and can scarcely be dealt with apart. For some kind and amount of feeling always accompanies the operation of will. Feeling or sensibility is the mental result of a stimulus conveyed by the impact of some factor in the environment on an appropriate sense-organ, passing to the central brain along a sensitive or afferent nerve ; while will is the response of the mind to the external stimulus, the function of the stimulus being to release the potential energy stored up in the recesses of the ego. In a more ultimate sense will may be described as a fundamental psychic quality of life itself. Ever since Schopenhauer first made will the causal principle of the Universe (as against the

exaggerated intellectualism of the Hegelian school of philosophy) there has been a growing tendency to give will the primary place in the analysis of mind. That thinker envisaged the Universe as the result of the action of a blind creative "Will." This is the "matter" of all reality, the causeless, irrational impulse that lies behind and in all things; the stress pervading phenomena; the unconscious push which issues in the manifold forms of matter, life and thought. This eternal Will-in-itself expresses itself in these forms under the conditions of time and space by a kind of inner necessity—an irrepressible impulse—to realise itself in every possible way. Individual wills are only special manifestations of the Will Universal. Will is thus the primary element in our nature, the intellect being secondary—"a mere function of the brain," and our feelings the mere psychic mechanism through which the Will seeks to realise its creative impulse.

Without falling into Schopenhauer's exaggerations, the history of philosophy and psychology since the publication of his *magnum opus* in 1819 indicates the great service he rendered in vindicating the place of will as an essential element in human life. Other writers followed out his teaching in various directions, and his influence is seen in such modern thinkers as Eucken in his philosophy of Activism, James and Dewey in their exposition of Pragmatism, and Bergson in his doctrine of the *élan vital*—or "vital push"—as the fundamental principle of reality. The wide influence of these writers shows that they are expressing the mind of their age, which is pre-eminently active and practical in its temper and outlook.

Turning to the development of the individual will, we note that it first appears in the form of organic

impulse, expressed in vague and indeterminate movements of the body. Long before the child begins to think, it is restless and active. This activity is partly a response to external stimulus, partly the expression of internal impulses and vital needs. Such instincts as survive in us lead to specialised forms of activity. It is only later that our intelligence takes the helm, and, profiting by the lessons of experience, directs our active tendencies in definite and purposeful ways. We slowly learn the limitations imposed upon us by our environment, and, later still, how to overcome these limitations by the exercise of foresight and the conscious adaptation of means to ends. The following are the distinctive channels along which the willing-impulse strives to realise itself.

II

We begin with the *will to live.*

Every creature, without knowing why, is urged forward imperiously to self-preservation. So far from this being as Schopenhauer claimed an *ir*rational impulse, it is the basis of all rationality. Life is its own sufficient reason; "self-preservation is the first law of nature." This passion for life is the earliest to realise itself; it is the last to leave us. The man in whom for any reason it ceases to operate is intuitively judged to be abnormal. In opposition to Schopenhauer's strange attitude, we hold that this supreme passion for living is an indication that life itself is a boon, and that the principle underlying the Universe is one of benevolence, and not of malignity or of indifference. When one realises in what depths of misery men still find it worth while to continue to live, and

what efforts they will normally put forth under the worst circumstances for the preservation of their own life, and that of those dear to them, a sense of the inherent value of life in and for itself is abundantly proved.

The will to live finds its motive-power, negatively, in the acute suffering which ensues in the disappointment of our vital needs, and, positively, in the profound satisfaction which normally follows their fulfilment. These needs are manifold, but may be subsumed under a few broad heads. The fundamental organic need is for *food*, in relation to which hunger and thirst are the psychic appetites, and the pleasures of eating and drinking the normal satisfaction. Under the influence of these primal wants, the will is impelled to effort proportionate to the varying difficulty of finding suitable and adequate sustenance for the body. In some climates food is easy to obtain, in others the supply is difficult and precarious. In the former case, the population is for the most part indolent and unenterprising; in the latter, life is spent under a constant sense of strain, and human effort is so overtaxed that there is little energy available for any other purpose than hunting and agriculture. In temperate climates, and especially in countries where the soil is fruitful and the weather fairly propitious, the struggle for life is just severe enough for the enforced exercise of the faculties, while leaving sufficient spare energy for the pursuit of higher ends, It is because the distribution of the land-surface of the globe in the north temperate zone is more fruitful and in other respects more favourable for human habitation than in the south that it is the habitat of the most numerous and progressive section of the human race. It is good for men to have to "work for their living," but bad for

them if all their energy is absorbed in doing so; for "life is more than meat, and the body than raiment."

III

Closely related to the *will to live* is the *reproductive instinct* which man shares with the lower animals. It is impossible to say how far these creatures have any prevision of the outcome of the satisfaction of the sexual instinct for which Nature has made such ample provision in the animal economy. Does the nesting bird dream of her unlaid eggs, and the pregnant mammal brood beforehand of her coming nursling? Be this as it may, man at least is normally desirous of founding a family, and the woman who does not feel the yearning of the maternal instinct is sub-normal or decadent. The generations are linked each to each by the imperious "life-impulse" about which certain modern writers have written so eloquently, and, apart from its persistent urge, the race would long since have disappeared under the stress of unfavourable environal conditions, and the incidence of manifold physical calamities. Much more than this may be said. The parental instinct is the root of the altruistic qualities in human life. The sacrifices which parents have to make for their little ones, and to which they are impelled by incentives beyond their control, are the most quickening of all the influences that foster our higher natures. As it has been well said, the family is a school of virtue for parents as well as children, and for parents far more than for children in that while the little ones are the mere *recipients*, the parents are the *bestowers* of benefit—and we remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that "it is more blessed to

give than to receive." It is one of the most powerful of arguments for the benevolence of God and the high destiny of mankind that the moral forces that make for unselfishness and service are thus interwoven into the warp and woof of our organic being. The *will to live* may in some of its operations lead to brutal manifestations of self-seeking; but when it prompts a joyful sacrifice of comfort, ease, effort, and even life itself for the benefit of the coming generation (and even animals will instinctively do this at times), we have an authentic glimpse into the mystery of love that lies at the heart of things, which indeed is the driving force of the process of organic evolution and comes to its earthly climax in the higher life of our race.

IV

The next vital impulse is that toward *Well-being*.

1. The primary form of this is for *clothing*, and for *shelter* from the inclemency of the elements, or from the heat of the sun. The human body is poorly provided with natural defences against severe and sudden alternations of heat and cold as compared with the lower animals; at the same time it is more sensitive to both extremes, and more liable to resultant disease. We therefore require clothing, and shelter from the inclemencies of weather. In hot climates man needs little clothing, and he often goes naked except for purposes of decency and adornment; in arctic regions he is forced to wear such heavy clothing that his physical movements are encumbered, and his higher activities restricted. In temperate climates the conditions are sufficiently drastic to make a reasonable amount of raiment necessary, while the

means for their manufacture are abundant. But the need for shelter is not satisfied with the provision of clothing. Man needs a dwelling. Here social instincts combine with the individual, and the result is found in the rise of villages, towns and cities, in the building and decorating of which man finds the satisfaction of the sense of beauty, the desire for security, and the development of a rich communal life. He probably began his career in the more temperate regions as a cave-dweller, and, in the warmer, as a forest-dweller, where the earliest dwellings were probably made of rude huts formed of branches, and leaves, and clods of earth. As the race multiplied, and the art of weaving and building developed, man became either a dweller in tents, a mode of life suited to nomadic and pastoral tribes, or a village-dweller, when husbandry and subsidiary industries became his regular employment. And here a new need gradually emerged. The struggle for life took an inter-tribal form; warfare became almost a chronic condition of existence; and to the call for shelter was added the demand for security and defence against attack. Later on came the era of walled cities in which the inhabitants could live in a state of greater or less security against the assaults of rival tribes or hereditary foes. This was the beginning of social life in the larger sense; the tribe gradually became the nation; and the *individual* consolidated into the *communal* will to live. The arts of peace developed gradually as new needs arose with the increasing complexity of human life; while the art of war became increasingly insistent in its demands on human ingenuity and enterprise, in view of the importance of the social and economic interests involved. In spite, however, of the greater security now enjoyed by the race, the

struggle for life grew not less but more acute in many ways; economic competition began to tell not only between different communities as political and racial units, but between individuals and classes within each community; hence arose the problems of social pressure which are more acute to-day than ever. We are prone to speak of this internecine struggle for life as an evil thing; but we must not ignore its far-reaching benefits as an incentive to individual initiative and to social effort. There is a "law of parsimony" at work in human nature which makes the average man disinclined to put forth effort except as he is impelled to do so by a sense of necessity. In primitive times this made man a hunter, in which he pitted his resources against the strength or cunning of animals, thus maintaining his physical fitness and developing his intellectual faculties. Later on it roused his interest in natural processes, and called forth his latent skill as a gardener and *husbandman.* In modern times it has quickened his inventive and constructive gifts ("necessity is the mother of invention"), and his genius for commerce and social organisation. In primeval periods, man was often put to it to *find* his daily bread; to-day he is as often put to it to *earn* it; in either case the qualities called forth in the stresses of the life-struggle would have remained dormant but for the salutary necessities that forced them into activity. Whether we earn our living as hunters, herdsmen, husbandmen, or mechanics; as traders, professional men, artists or statesmen;—behind all the secondary and remoter impulses which inspire our activities, the primal fact remains, that we must somehow live, and that life can only be sustained by effort. The same necessity involves a considerable amount of moral discipline. Men can retain their

place in the ranks of regular workers only on condition that they show a certain reliability of character, and are sober, punctual, efficient and industrious; and it is good for society that when those who for lack of these qualities fall out of the ranks of workers they should often be sore put to it to find a crust to eat. The fact that a certain proportion of people are exempt from the necessity of working for their living, while others work for them, does not touch the essential principle; in the nature of things these are a comparatively small class, who hold their place in society by the tolerance of the many who work fruitfully with hand or brain. Even this leisured class would speedily disappear but for the accumulations of wealth stored by the previous efforts of the race, and if they take advantage of their position they buy their immunity from honest labour at the cost of some of the finer and healthier qualities of heart and mind. The fact that most men are obliged to work for their own and others' sustenance is one of the main stimulants to well-being and high living; and it will be a good thing for humanity when the Pauline maxim is made a universal law, "If a man will not work, neither let him eat."

V

We pass on to the next main channel of volitional activity—the *will towards self-realisation.*

Life, having once secured its foothold, tends to self-expression, that is, to the unfolding of its latent possibilities. When once our activities have been roused by the struggle for life, we are normally impelled to the continued output of effort in many new directions. Our vital needs lie at the foundation of all other desires, but there is more in life than can be

satisfied with abundance of food and drink. These higher needs find psychic expression in the longing for pleasure, for knowledge, for love, for creative effort, for spiritual enrichment, for immortality.

1. The longing for *pleasure* or sensuous enjoyment is mainly manifested in childhood and adolescence. At this age the senses are full of vital hunger, and crave powerfully for satisfaction. The child is keenly interested in his environment, and finds perpetual joy in its appeal to his sensibilities. As his faculties develop, his horizon widens and his interests grow more numerous and more intense. With the arrival of adolescence there is a sudden emergence of passional desires that crave for satisfaction and give rise to the dreamy restlessness, the eager enterprise, and the tumultous melancholy of youth. Life at this stage appears full of unbounded possibilities, and the soul is filled with a craving for their realisation. This period of passion for enjoyment is the most critical in human development ; most men and women are made or marred during these great but perilous years, according as they are brought to realise the need for self-government and continence in the pursuit of pleasure, or fail to do so. By undue indulgence in such opportunities of enjoyment as come in the way of most, the vital resources are prematurely sapped, and the higher sensibilities are blunted or starved ; by careful husbandry they are kept keen and operative far into mature life, and make even old age full of zest. Byron's sad confession on his thirty-third birthday—

> " Thro' life's dark way, so dim and dirty,
> I have trudged to three and thirty :
> And what has living brought unto me ?
> This—that I am thirty-three "—

expresses the emptiness of a life wholly devoted to the exploitations of life's possibilities of pleasure. Browning's words written in ripe age—

> "Have you found your life distasteful?
> My life did, and does, smack sweet.
> Was your life of pleasure wasteful?
> Mine I saved and hold complete.
> Do your joys with age diminish?
> When mine fail me I'll complain.
> Must in death your daylight finish?
> My sun sets to rise again"[1]—

represent the unwasted forces of a life whose youthful fires were never dimmed by vicious excesses; and which in consequence conserved its clear flame of enjoyment to the end.

2. If the sensuous impulses crave for self-realisation through pleasure, the intellectual nature finds it in the pursuit of *knowledge*. The mind is normally full of a noble curiosity, which is the hunger of the intellect, and its satisfaction is found in the discovery and co-ordination of facts under laws, and in recognising the order and purposiveness of the world around us and within us. In its earlier stages—indeed until comparatively recent times—the mind was satisfied with a wealth of miscellaneous acquirements which fell into rough and uncritical generalisations, informed by common sense, and checked by experience. But as the intellectual life came to its maturity it attempted a systematisation or synthesis of knowledge, out of which have come the profound systems of philosophy which handle the mystery of ultimate reality, and the well-ordered conclusions of science which deal with the facts and problems of the phenomenal world. The task of reducing the apparent contradictions of experience into harmony, and of discovering the unity into which

[1] *At the Mermaid*, Works of Robert Browning, vol. ii, p. 478.

the "manifold" of the world merges, is full of difficulty; but in this (if not in other) directions,

> "Age to age since time began
> Marks the steady gain of man,"

and while we are still far from having mastered the secrets of being, a good beginning has at least been made, and year by year fresh conquests are gained in the increase and systematisation of knowledge, with a corresponding increase in the aptitudes of the mind for its practical handling.

3. But man is more than sensuous, or even intellectual; he is essentially *social*, and in the longing for *love*, we find another impulse towards self-realisation. Love is the food of the affectional nature, which yearns for satisfaction in the interchange of benefits with our fellows. From the beginning of human society in the organic relationships of the family, this interchange has been going on, and the process of ethical development has been one in which the circle of friendship and mutual regard has been constantly widening in range and in quality. Here indeed there has been a constant struggle between contending interests, affinities, and repulsions. Until the birth of Christianity it was practically taken for granted that the law of love was necessarily limited by the barriers of tribe, or nation, or race. The postulate of the group instinct was this—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy"; the only problem lay in the definition of the two terms involved, as is implied by the question of the scribe to Jesus, "And who is my neighbour?" In the parable of the Good Samaritan the last barriers were removed to the full realisation of the love-principle in the heart of man. "My neighbour" had hitherto been understood as

the man who was conjoined to me by ties of relationship, locality, and mutual interest; outside this circle there was felt no call for any exchange of benefit or feeling of regard. Till then, indeed, the alien was regarded, not so much with indifference, as with hostility; from that time on, since the word "neighbour" must now be understood as "the man who needs my help," the way was opened for the gradual realisation of the principle of universal love. The way has not been easy for the recognition of this law, for the antipathies of mankind have been deep and stubborn, and the clash of their interests fierce and complex. After two thousand years of ebb and flow, the stream of human benevolence still runs between high banks of limitation and dislike; only here and there do we find great souls whose hearts beat in unison with the interests of the race as a whole, and, breaking through all barriers, respond to the call of need wherever it sounds. When the inspiration of the few becomes the habit of all, social life will reach the realisation of its fullest possibilities. Only in a world of universal love will the soul of man come to its full heritage of social blessing.

4. It is probably the few who will ever enjoy the sense of sustained *creative effort.* The impulse towards the realisation of the ideal in some objective form is the highest exercise of the human genius. To say that here man touches the divine most nearly is scarcely true; it is the saint, not the artist, to whom that privilege is given. Yet is the artistic impulse, as it shapes its vision of beauty in the symmetries of form, or colour, or sound—in architecture, painting, poetry, music, drama, and constructive science—akin to the divine activity which has filled the universe

with its lavish wealth of being. It is man's contribution to the perfecting of the work of God, the chalice in which he gathers the scattered brightness and glory of the world. And if the souls who have the insight to discover and the faculty of reproducing there broken gleams of beauty and power are few and far between, it is at least given to the many to welcome and enjoy the issue of their work.

5. Man's self-realisation achieves its earthly climax in the *life of holiness* which is the synthesis of all that is great in endeavour and beautiful in character. Here the will is truly creative, for it brings into fullest being the highest possibilities of our nature. It is the reality of which art is but the pale reflection; it is beauty, truth, love, goodness in action; it is the final attainment of all the dim foreshadowings and upward strivings of the life-principle of the universe. Only once as yet has this triumph of goodness been fully realised in the troubled history of mankind; most men are good in parts and patches; in Jesus of Nazareth alone has the ideal man been bodied forth in complete and balanced manifestation. Its uniqueness lay in the complete union of the human will and the divine in redemptive activity, and its issue the infusion into history of a new spiritual force, whose percolation along innumerable channels has slowly leavened and uplifted the common life of the race in so far as it has come under its influence. The hope of further progress for the world is bound up with the extension of this influence till it has permeated the whole world with its quality and power.

6. There is one more step we must take in this summary account of Man's passion for self-realisation. From the dawn of history, nay before that dawn, Man has always yearned for more than the span of

life allotted to him on earth. Ever his heart has burned, now in fear and uncertainty, now in hope and longing, for *a life beyond the grave.* Something there is in him which refuses to believe that he is all of earth, something which affirms that in his constitution there is a principle of survival independent of the physical body. *Non omnis moriar—all of me shall not die!*—is the secret conviction of his soul. He feels that the stage on which his experience is meted out to him here is too small for his possibilities; though he live to a hundred years, his thirst for life is still unslaked, his ideals still beckon him on, his soul demands another chance to follow after them. True, there have always been men who have poured scorn on this longing for a future life, and have argued strongly against the validity of those "intimations of immortality" which have haunted the human soul for so many generations; but this undying hope still continues to rise afresh in every generation. Man still stubbornly holds to the belief that this life is not the end for him, and that death does no more than draw a curtain over the first act in a drama, whose climax is to be realised in another world. This is the solemn affirmation of faith in all lands and in all ages. There is no religion which does not build on this as its initial postulate, and lift it up as its last incentive; even Buddhism, the so-called "religion of atheism," fails to persuade its votaries that its Nirvana means nothing but blank nonentity; and those who in these latter days look on the hope of immortality as the last infirmity of noble minds, are obliged to invent such fanciful equivalents as "social immortality," or the "immortality of influence" as sops with which to satisfy the elemental craving of the soul for a future life.

VI

The *will to wealth* is another powerful passion of the human soul. We find here and there in some of the lower creatures a distinct tendency to hoard certain desired possessions, as in the stores of food which ants, squirrels, bees, wasps, beavers, etc., lay up for future use—to an extent often far in excess of their needs. In man this impulse has steadily grown with the growth of his sense of mastery over the forces and laws of nature, and with the complexity of social organisation.

The hoarding instinct did not appear in any marked measure in primitive communities, which were content for the most part to waste what they did not immediately want of the commodities at their disposal. Stern necessity, however, taught them in time that the family or tribe that failed to make some provision for the future was weeded out of existence or enslaved by the more provident members of the tribe. It was also seen that those who stored up the results of past effort were so far freed from making fresh efforts, and were able to enjoy the fruits of their former labour till their stores were exhausted. By exercising the virtue of foresight and abstinence it was realised that a community became rich and resourceful, and was capable of surving the incidence of famine, drought, and war much more easily that when these qualities were neglected. In this way certain communities began to accumulate rudimentary forms of wealth, and to prevail over those which were content to live from hand to mouth, or from season to season. This was the beginning of civilisation on its material side. The accumulation of wealth tended to a more settled

form of life, since it became progressively difficult for a tribe to carry its possessions with it from place to place. The more settled the form of life the closer and more complicated became the relationships of individuals, families, and groups of people, and the more general the enjoyment of those forms of wealth which were capable of being used in common. With the invention of writing, another form of wealth became possible—the stored-up intellectual achievements of past ages; and with the development of art, a vast range of communal possessions of the highest kind became possible. From this stage on the progress of the race became assured, and the complex civilisations of the historic period made possible.

VII

Closely related to the Will-to-Self-realisation and Wealth is the last great human passion—the *Will-to-power.*

The satisfaction arising from the realisation of successful effort against obstacles is an experience shared by the higher animals. The obstacles may be the inertia or resistance of natural difficulties or forces, or the strength of living creatures. The most primitive type of this egoistic impulse—the fierce joys of personal combat—whether in the struggle with wild beasts or with an individual enemy, survives in many derivative forms, and seems an ineradicable element in human nature. This fighting instinct however, is not necessarily an evil, for though it is the spring of some of the vilest passions and of many forms of cruelty, it may, when sublimated of its coarser elements, be directed to the noblest ends.

The combative instinct which in one man may impel him to fight an enemy to the death, may inspire another to die for him. It is largely the same propensity which gives perseverance to the scientist to conquer the secrets of Nature, the philosopher to defend his theory of ultimate reality against rival thinkers, the artist to overcome the difficulties of creative effort in the production of some great masterpiece, the social reformer to sweep away a hoary wrong. If the fighting instinct were ever to die from the heart of man, he would be incapable of great achievement in any direction. To wrestle manfully against hostile circumstances, to "accept the hundredth chance of getting through alive," in the hope of gaining the victory for a forlorn hope—this is heroism in its purest form, and it is this quality which is man's highest qualification for dominion of the world in which he lives and strives, without which indeed he would long since have disappeared from the scene of his age-long struggles and victories.

In the social world the Will-to-power finds its expression in the *exercise of leadership* on the one side, and in the willingness to be led on the other.[1] It is the few who are capable of effective leadership; the many follow. The mere crowd lacks vision and initiative; it is at the mercy of its individual impulses; prone to fits of unreasoning emotion; without a sense of common direction. Three prime qualities

[1] It seems at first sight a mere paradox to suggest that there is in human nature an instinct for *following* as well as *leading*. The one, however, would find no function without the other. The "herd-instinct" is only another term for *willingness to be led*, and it lies at the basis of all the loyalties of social organisation. The alternative would be a hopeless state of disorder, in which every man would be against every other, and anarchy would reign supreme. This passive instinct has not received its due place in the psychological analysis of the human subject.

go to the making of an effective leader of men—the interpretive, the sympathetic, the directive, all lit up and unified in a temperament of supreme self-confidence and controlling energy. Sir Martin Conway has classified the great leaders of history under three categories, to which may be added a fourth.[1]

1. In the first category may be placed the *Crowd-compellers*—the men who are able to impose their own wills on their followers, whether with or without their own free consent, and to use them to carry out their own ends in spite of all obstacles; these are the autocrats, tyrants and great conquerors of the world. In a minor degree every community contains a number of personalities who dominate their fellows by sheer force of character, and determine the current ideas, customs, fashions and movements in local affairs, politics, ethics and religion; the rest of the community gathers round these men as the focal centres of their communal life. In many instances they have proved a terrible scourge to humanity, for their ends have been purely selfish and evil; their ideal function is to be the starting-points of progress in every department of human activity. The tragedies of history have largely been the work of such men; but every great advance made by the race is through the influence of great personalities filled with the loftiest ideals who have had the secret of infusing their followers with their own spirit ideals and purpose. The great religions are indissolubly associated with the names of their "founders"—Moses, Lao Tze, Sakyamuni, Mahomet, Jesus; so are the eras of reform in religion—Nehemiah, Augustine, Luther, Wesley; so have been the ages of social and legislative reform in all

[1] *The Crowd in Peace and War*, p. 89 ff.

lands. Without its Crowd-compellers, the world would have remained static and unprogressive from age to age; and great as has been the mischief done by many of them, we should have fared badly without men of this type to inspire, direct and impel mankind along the rugged and difficult pathway of progress.

2. The second class of leaders are what may be called *Crowd-exponents*—men with the gift of interpreting the subconscious, inchoate thoughts and needs of the masses, and of leading them on to corresponding action. The general community is usually unable to know its own mind, or direct its own affairs; it depends on a few men gifted with vision, sympathy and the faculty of interpretation, who are able to gather the vague currents of feeling, aspiration and thought which float in the common mind, and reduce them into articulate speech and practical politics. It is the function of all but the highest literature to do this for the thought of each era; of all but the highest statesmanship to fashion measures which supply the solution of passing problems; of all but the greatest prophets to formulate the religious idea and aspirations of their own age. Such leaders are usually popular, and awaken great enthusiasm among their contemporaries, but neither their works nor their influence remain operant for long after they have passed away. There are some leaders who combine some of the features of both the crowd-compeller and the crowd-exponent (such as Gladstone and Bismarck in the world of statesmanship); but, for the most part, they form distinct types.

3. By *Crowd-representatives* is meant such leaders as rise in communities that have developed to the point of social self-consciousness, and possess forms of government of a more or less democratic kind. In

this case the leader is chosen as an expert in the art of government, or in the arts of social and industrial organisation, and as one in sympathy with the general policy of the party he represents, but he is left free to formulate that policy in detail in consultation or conflict with the leaders of other parties in the state. This is the stage at which the great democratic countries of Western civilisation have arrived at present. The value of such a scheme of social organisation lies in the intelligence of the general community, their interest in public affairs, and in their breadth of view. The evolution of our British Parliamentary system as the embodiment of this principle is one of the most arresting features of our history, and largely explains our place and influence in the world. Speaking generally, it may be called the method of "government by consent." It provides for the community as a whole a real and progressive share in its own government, while the solution of the complicated problems that have successively arisen in the course of its history has been entrusted to the wisdom of its leaders, who have not been unmindful of their responsibilities. The passion for liberty and the demand for ordered obedience to law—the two great essentials of progress—have thus tended to keep pace, and while progress in social betterment has been slow, it has, so far, been sure. The two great conditions of success, however must never be forgotten or neglected. These are, freedom from corruption in the conduct of public affairs, and a general and intelligent interest on the part of the community in the art of self-government.

4. There are signs however of still another type of so-called leadership which is beginning to appear above the social horizon—that of the *Crowd-delegate.*

Here the leader is practically merged in the community itself, and his function is merely to register and carry out the will of his followers in detail as well as in principle through an administrative body elected for the purpose. Whether this is a final step in the evolution of the art of leadership, and is likely to minister to the real interests of the community, is more than doubtful. It leaves no room for the expert in the adjustment of the infinitely complicated problems of modern society, which can never be mastered by the rank and file of the community, and tends to take out all elasticity in the handling of the warring interests of classes and parties. The "general will"—just because it is the general will—must always be lacking in fine discrimination and skilful manipulation of social forces, and unless it is informed with delicate intelligence and directed by the experience of real individual leaders, it is more likely to block its own way than to move on to better conditions. We have just seen in the recent political developments in Italy that such an *impasse* can eventuate in the course of a democracy that the only solution is the emergence of a Crowd-compeller who shall impose his own will upon a community which has lost the power to manage its own affairs, with all the instabilities and perils of such a situation. "After last returns the first."

Summing up these various manifestations of Will-Power it is clear that in the development of this gift, in association with his intellectual aptitude, Man finds his normal place in the Providential Order. Without a vast store of Will to provide the impulse, and of intellectual capacity to provide the directive principle of his function, he would be quite helpless to undertake any active part in the world-process.

These two acting together, form the basis of all his control over his environment, and of his capacity to take some share in the further evolution of the Divine purpose. Still, they are not enough for so great a vocation. A free will under merely intellectual guidance would only produce a Frankenstein monster whose power for mischief would be unrelieved and hopeless. Man's equipment therefore includes higher qualities than either will or intellect. His Creator has made him an ethical and religious being. His intellectual powers enable him to understand his environment, and his volitional to handle it effectively ; it is only in the development and sovereignty of the moral and spiritual elements of his being that his hope lies of being able to fulfil his earthly function so that it shall help forward the Divine purpose to its goal. To the consideration of these we must now address ourselves.

CHAPTER V

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR

III. THE MORAL SENSE IN DEVELOPMENT

IN dealing with the mystery of sin in view of the Divine Providence, we have already touched on some of the problems of the moral life in its religious aspects. We have now to venture on an outline of the psychological and sociological conditions of the development of the moral sense and of the religious instinct as a part of the equipment of man for his own Providential functions.

We must now point out a distinction which it was not necessary to draw in our previous discussion of the subject. Morality is the regulation of human conduct in the social relations of men and women; religion the regulation of their conduct in relation to God as Lord of Life and as Moral Governor of the World. We are so accustomed to view these regions of conduct as two aspects of one reality that it is with some difficulty and a certain shock of surprise that we are forced to realise their distinctive origins, and to remember that only since the birth of Christianity has their fundamental unity been fully realised. Let us follow their separate pathways to the point of union in the teaching, example and redeeming influence of Jesus Christ.

The conditions of the emergence of the moral sense

are, sociologically, the existence from the beginnings of the race of the rudiments of society; psychologically, the birth of sympathy in the emotional relationships of the family; historically, the growth and elaboration of social institutions in ever widening circles—from the family to the clan, from the clan to the tribe, from the tribe to the nation, and finally from the nation to the still tentative international and inter-racial relationships of mankind.

I

The *fundamental relationship is that of the family*, which is a sociological as well as biological fact of the first magnitude. This is the primary condition of human existence, the natural root of all affection, the permanent basis of all social ties, the one organic link that binds tle generations together in an unbroken chain of interdependence and development. Without the family, which in its simplest form includes father and mother and at least one "little child in the midst," there would have been no morality and no progress.

In view of the innumerable antagonistic conditions which face each infant organism as it emerges to take its part in the struggle for life, there are two, and only two alternative conditions that make survival possible. The first is an endless fertility, a feature which characterises the lower animals up to the level of the fish; the second is the development of conditions or qualities, or both, which procure for the individual more or less immunity from danger, a course which leads to qualitative organic development, and the rise of higher species. "The former sends

its huge armies out into the field, a mighty holocaust from which a few survivors will re-stock the world; the latter sends forth but a limited number, yet succeeds by protecting them better."[1] In the former case, those individuals survive which possess certain fortunate characteristics which enable them to escape destruction but which lead to no improvement in the species; in the latter, there is a gradual increase in organic complexity (such as a finer nerve-structure) which, however small, marks a step to a nobler type. The very prolific creatures are thus static or decadent types, which can only maintain their place by sheer weight of numbers; the less prolific and more highly organised can only survive through an adequate manifestation of parental care. It is a characteristic

[1] Sutherland in his *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, gives some astounding facts illustrating the fecundity of certain fishes, without which they would inevitably disappear under the unprotected conditions of life in the open sea. He calculates that according to "a very cautious and moderate estimate" of the destruction of fish by fish within the depths of the ocean, if the same velocity of disappearance were applied to the human race, it would be altogether wiped out in four seconds. If to these enemies we add the numbers of birds eating fish (gannets, cormorants, puffins, guillemots, pelicans, gulls, petrels, etc.), which reap their daily harvest from the sea, it is easy to see how essential it is that fish should multiply at an enormous rate in order to survive at all. Thus the number of eggs spawned by a single herring amounts to 27,000. Many other species deposit in a season 100,000 eggs to each female, and there are some which lay several millions at a single spawning (halibut, sturgeon, etc.). Each cod lays 6,296,000 every season. In spite of this extraordinary fecundity, the average number of fish in the sea is practically constant from year to year. Parental care is clearly out of the question in dealing with such numbers of offspring. In the case of lake and river fish, the conditions of survival are less severe, and these many species of freshwater fish show the rudiments of parental solicitude for their young. It is significant that sticklebacks are among the most developed in this respect, and they are among the least fruitful of the fish tribe. (pp. 21, 25, 35, etc.).

of nerve-structure that the more elaborate it becomes, the longer is the period of immaturity in the individual possessing it, and the more helpless it is during that period. *Pari passu* with the length of infancy, the parental instinct must thus be increasingly manifested if the species is to survive. The manner in which this instinct is shown varies with each species, and depends on its organic peculiarities and habitat. In some few cases it is the male who manifests the chief parental care, the female, after laying her eggs or spawn, taking no further interest in them. For the most part, however, it is the mother who shows the greater solicitude and devotion to her young. In certain instances, both parents collaborate loyally, and share the family burden till the young are able to take care of themselves. The study of the parental instinct is indeed one of the most fascinating chapters in natural history, and presents endless illustrations of the resourcefulness and ingenuity of the vital principle in its manifold developments.

The human race is biologically remarkable for the extreme length of infancy and the consequently large demands made on the energy and devotion of parents for their young. It takes, on the average, a third of the normal span of human life for the individual to attain maturity of body and mind; and no sooner do we reach this stage than we are impelled to reproduce our kind, and to spend a considerable portion of the rest of our life in bringing our own young into maturity. All our life we are thus under the influence of the parental function, first as the recipients, and later on as the channels, of its bounty. In both cases large demands are made on our moral possibilities. Family life (as already stated) is a school of virtue for parents as well as for children. True, the foundation of the

process is an organic instinct which in itself possesses no moral quality; but the demand made upon our devotion and "other-regarding" impulses furnishes the occasion for the manifestation of the moral sense in the direction of incipient altruistic or unselfish conduct, which, while it inevitably finds its centre in the care of the family, may end in a passion of self-sacrificing conduct in the interests of the whole race.

The psychological condition of the emergence of the moral sense is the birth of parental, and afterwards (probably not before) of conjugal sympathy. This psychic emotion appeared indeed long before the human race arrived. It began (roughly speaking) with the emergence of the warm-blooded animals. Only through the operation of parental solicitude can the young of bird or mammal be developed. In these two orders, a divergent path was followed, the bird adopting the path of *incubation*, the mammal of *gestation*. In both cases the increase of psychical feeling and consequent care on the part of the parents accompanies a lessening in the number of young, the least sensitive type of bird making no nest and having an average of 12·5 eggs per annum to each female, the most highly developed species of nest-building birds having only 4·5 eggs a year. The same characteristic is seen throughout the mammalian order. In this case the mother "carries her young" (i.e. retains her eggs within her own body till they are hatched) and then solicitously guards and trains them till able to care for themselves. As we rise in the scale of being (the crucial mark of this being a higher development of the nervous system) there is a steady growth of that conscious care which bids the mother sacrifice her comfort and, if need be, her life on behalf of her young, till in the monkey-order we arrive at an almost

human standard of maternal devotion and efficiency. Here again we find that the strength of parental affection varies in intensity inversely to the number of offspring, and directly to the length of infancy. As already indicated this is seen in its highest form of all in the human race, which multiplies normally at the rate of only one child in two years or so.

All anthropologists agree in emphasising the passionate love of children shown by savage races, down to the very lowest. The fact that infanticide is so prevalent among many savage races is no proof, as we have seen, of any lack of parental affection on their part. Among Victorian aborigines, for example, about a third of the infants are destroyed at birth, a practice due to the difficulty of rearing large families owing to the uncertainty of food supplies and the inability of mothers to keep up with the " tribal march " if they have more than one child at a time physically dependent on them. Superfluous children are destroyed at once after birth at the behest of the family or clan ; if a child is allowed to live but a few days, the maternal instinct awakens too strongly to permit its destruction, and once it is decreed that a child shall live, " there are no bounds to the fondness and indulgence with which it is treated ; its little ways are noted with delight, and it is the object of the tenderest care."[1] Russel Wallace says of certain savage Brazilian tribes that " they invariably kill their first-born babies, yet when a child is suffered to live, they have an affection so intense for it that nothing will induce them to

[1] Taplin, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 15. Mr. E. M. Curr, another authority on the natives of Australia, says that " nearly half of the children born fall victims to infanticide," but that " parents are very much attached to their children and rarely correct or punish them. They are habitually indulged in every whim."

part from it." [1] It seems indeed a uniform characteristic of savage peoples that in their treatment of children they are foolishly fond and indulgent, granting them every whim, and never chastising them for bad behaviour. Such affection, however, is clearly quite instinctive, and has no moral quality in it; it is but a glorified form of self-indulgence.

Conjugal sympathy is a later growth than parental, and is a plant of slower development, and of more uncertain foothold. Its roots do not lie so much in the sexual instinct as in the common cares and sacrifices of parenthood. The children unite the parents through the demands they make on their devotion and service. *It is the baby and not the marriage that is the seed of the happy home.* Even among civilised peoples childless marriages are usually less happy than those that are fruitful, and result oftener in separation and divorce. The glamour of sexual attraction tends to be evanescent unless welded into permanency, and lifted to a higher plane, by fatherhood and motherhood. Cynical writers often dwell on the "illusion" of love, and the speedy fading of the romance of courtship under the stern stresses of married life, but there are few who are blind to the nobility of the parental instinct, and of its vast influence in sweetening and steadying the married relations of men and women. Conjugal sympathy, however, once awakened, is one of the most powerful motives in human life. Those children have the best chance of a successful upbringing whose parents are united in tenderest affection for each other as well as for their little ones; without it families are in peril of being torn asunder by disruptive influences; through it, parents otherwise ill-matched, are often enabled to bear patiently with each other's

[1] *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 361.

mutually repellent qualities, and to share in a process of mutual adaptation which would otherwise be impossible.

> " Then by strange art she mingled fire and snow
> Together ; tempering the repugnant mass
> With liquid love ; all things together grow
> Through which the harmony of love can pass."[1]

The development of conjugal sympathy affects the family life beneficently in more than one direction. First, *in the better care of children.* The dearer and the more permanent the tie binding the parents, the more completely will they work together for the good of their children. It makes for the *closer unity* of family fellowship ; for peace and quiet ; for courtesy and forbearance in face of the constant minor irritations which inevitably arise in an intercourse so close and so constant. Still more important is *its effect on family government,* tending to make it wise and consistent, kindly and adaptive in temper. There is nothing more injurious to the well-being of children than to have parents who fail to work together loyally in training their young. Bad temper in parents breeds the same evil in the little ones. The misery of a divided home is a nightmare-memory to those who have had to undergo its tortures. Conversely there is no incentive to the consistent pursuit of high ideals in the young more efficacious than the knowledge that their parents are tenderly affectioned each to the other as well as to their children. Harmonious and loving co-operation in the art of bringing up children is the golden rule of successful family life.

Secondly, *in the growth of chastity* in the relation of the sexes. This was esteemed a virtue among women much earlier than among men, partly for physiological

[1] Shelley, *The Witch of Atlas.*

reasons, partly through the superior strength and inordinate sexual jealousy of the average man, which urged him to lay down a law of conduct for his mate long before he was prepared to follow it himself. Some writers indeed maintain that in primitive societies, and in the lowest of present-day races, there are no marriages, but only promiscuous intercourse. This idea has now, however, been shown to be untenable. Sutherland, arguing against Lubbock's theory of the " communal marriage " of primitive times, affirms that " there is no evidence that there ever was a race of men, no matter how void of the idea of moral chastity. . . . in which men and women did not in the main become partners and companions in monogamic union, and did not to a reasonable extent co-operate in the rearing of their children." [1] Indeed, we can go back a fairly long way in the evolutionary process and see the biological beginnings of monogamy among animals. It is seen in suggestion in the exclusive companionships of birds during the breeding season; their loyal division of labour in the period of incubation, the male bird giving himself with devotion to feeding the brooding mother, afterwards taking a large share in finding food for the nestlings. One naturalist speaks of a male blackbird which was at last so exhausted with the duties of the family commissariat that he was a " mere ruckle of bones and feathers," while his sleek mate and young ones were noticeably fat and prosperous. Cases are also known of a sick bird being nursed and fed by its mate, its death being followed by disconsolate mourning, sometimes even by the steady decline and decease of the bereaved partner. Darwin tells us that he has known many instances of doves whose union was

[1] Sutherland, *Origin and Growth of Moral Instinct*, vol. i, p. 187.

broken only by the death of one of them. Indeed a certain proportion of birds are monogamous, and form unions that are lifelong. It is difficult not to see here a development of sympathy in which the physical attraction is reinforced by rudimentary feelings of true love.

But to return to the human race. The tendency among primitive men seems to have been away from promiscuity (if this ever really existed on a large scale), through polygamy, to monogamous union. Even in communities where a plurality of wives is permitted by social usage, the polygamous impulse often dies down, and the favourite wife becomes the only mother of a man's children. Monogamy indeed is no true indication of chastity; many civilised men are not much in advance of their savage brothers in the practice of this virtue; probably indeed the lowest depth of sexual depravity is to be found, not in Central Africa or the South Seas, but in our own great "civilised" capital cities. Religion alone can supply an adequate inner motive for the exercise of this virtue. It is only under the influence of Christianity that a great body of public opinion, as well as private incentive, has been brought to bear on the wayward sexual impulses of mankind, and true purity of life has been at least partially attained. The great social and religious movement that goes under the name of Chivalry, with its beautiful sense of honour, and its code of protection and succour for the weak and defenceless, wielded a purifying influence within the mediæval church.[1] Monasticism,

[1] It is now held, however, that the popular belief, derived from romantic rather than historical literature, that the institution of Chivalry was a great instrument in raising the status of women is greatly exaggerated. As a matter of fact, the spirit of feudal

with its idealisation of virginity in men and women, in spite of its unnatural basis and ascetic extravagances, worked in the same direction.[1] Such progress as has been hitherto attained has not, it is true, been uniform or permanent; ages of strictness have been followed by periods of laxity; the most profligate age in England was probably that which immediately succeeded the great Puritan era, and the purest that which followed the evangelical revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; while the loss of religious faith during the last generation has undoubtedly been followed by a growing sexual laxity, especially among the unmarried. We are still far from having attained the high-water mark of social virtue in the enforcement of the same standard of conduct for men and women, except in theory, and we shall never fully do so till the Christian faith has done its perfect work. A great step forward will be gained when the disastrous hereditary effects of sexual disease are widely enough known, and pressed home with sufficient emphasis on the conscience of men as well as women to be a real deterrent against vice. Almost every great nation that has become

times was, on the whole, hostile to the higher claims of women. The laws of inheritance bore heavily against their interests; and in spite of the chivalric ideal of purity, a shocking laxity of morals prevailed among men of all classes, which, of course, must have involved the average morals of the opposite sex. It cannot, however, be denied that there was a profoundly Christian principle imbedded in the idea of chivalry, as is proved by Caxton's *Buke of the Ordre of Knychtede*, where its religious basis is amply expounded.

[1] Lecky (*European Morals*, ii, p. 367) claims that the veneration of the Virgin Mary did much to ennoble the prevailing ideal of womanhood. "It supplied," he says, "in a great measure the redeeming element in that strange amalgam of religious, licentious and military feeling which was formed round women in the age of chivalry."

decadent has lost its place in the racial struggle for place and power largely through unbridled licentiousness, with its debilitating effects on parents and progeny alike. It is certain that the nation which has the highest sexual standards for its ideals, and finds the most adequate means of enforcing these on the community, holds the hegemony of the future. How to realise this end is one of the most difficult of social problems. It will assuredly not be done by any system of outward law, but by the gradual development of a powerful and irresistible social conscience, and of an enlightened public opinion.

To sum up. We have endeavoured to show that the conditions for the stimulation and education of the moral life are to be found in the social strains and stresses, attractions and repulsions, ideals and duties, provided in the sphere of family life. The family instinct is the richest and most powerful we possess. In the continuous demands of motherhood, with its perpetual call on the altruistic elements in a woman's heart, she awakens to her highest function of service; in the toils and perils of fatherhood, in providing food for the wife and children, and defending them against hostile attack, the father learns to forget his own pleasure, ease, and safety in the interests of those depending on him for succour; in the gradual awakening of both to the need of the moral training of their children, and of suppressing the tendency to "spoil" them, both parents are themselves trained in the arts of self-government, continence and purity of life; and as it is imperative that a good example may be set for the coming generation, a wide circle of added motives to high living is added to the merely instinctive aspects of parentage. All this is secured by the existence of the family relationship, which is the most

primitive, as well as the most permanent institution of human life.[1]

II

Human society begins with the family, but it does not end there. Round this social nucleus range the larger relationships of men, in ever-widening and more complex circles of communal life. Corresponding to each of these are social needs that make demands on the mutual helpfulness of its members and thus provide opportunity for the fulfilment of moral functions. The field of ethics thus becomes co-terminous with the totality of human life, involving a system of universal rights and duties for mankind which may be shirked, but which cannot be denied or ignored, except to the peril of human well-being.

Readers of Prince Kropotkin's work on *Mutual Help in Nature* will remember how that careful student of natural history finds the principle of co-operation in the habits of many of the higher animal species. It begins with the appearance of the gregarious instinct. Among animals of solitary habits, such as many of the *carnivora* or flesh-eating types, the range of sympathy and mutual helpfulness cannot well spread beyond the family circle (except in cases

[1] This section may well be summarised in Tylor's eloquent words: "Mankind can never have lived as a mere struggling crowd, each for himself. Society is always made up of families bound together by kindly ties. Their habits, judged by our notions, are hard and coarse, yet the family tie of sympathy and common interest is already formed, and the foundation of moral duty laid in the mother's patient tenderness, the father's desperate valour in defence of home, their duty and care for the little ones, the affection of brothers and sisters, and the mutual forbearance, hopefulness, and trust of all."

where they occasionally hunt in packs) and it seldom lasts longer than the duration of infancy. Herbivorous animals, however, generally feed in flocks or droves, an instinctive habit favourable for common defence against their natural enemies. Members of these species are happy only in close physical contiguity, and often show keen distress when separated by accident, or forced to live apart. The rudiments of a genuine sympathetic fellowship seem to have emerged with the appearance of warm-blooded animals. The case of ants and bees we may hold to be only an apparent exception. The extraordinary parental care shown by these insects, and their close-knit social organisation, involving the most elaborate sub-division of labour and the performance of complicated industrial functions, is apparently of the nature of a mechanical and subconscious instinct, and probably involves no psychical feelings. Lubbock says "Far, indeed, from being able to discover any evidence of affection among them, they appear to be thoroughly callous, and utterly indifferent to one another. It was necessary for me to kill a bee, but I never found that the others took the slightest notice." [1] As soon as we come to the warm-blooded varieties, the situation changes, owing to the higher psychic endowment of these creatures, and their capacity, by voice and gesture, to communicate their feelings to one another, a feature common to all their class. In many kinds of both birds and quadrupeds not only is the flocking instinct (gregariousness) widely prevalent, but a true sympathy (sociability) is manifested when any member of the community is in distress, pain, or danger. These creatures will often defend each other to the death, and they have elaborate means of warning each other

[1] *Ants, Bees and Wasps*, p. 286.

of peril. Firm friendships are occasionally manifested between individual animals, as in the case of horses working together, and of herding elephants, and it is a commonplace that many domestic animals (even of different species) show a warm affection for one another as well as for their owners. Tamed creatures whose natural habits are solitary, such as cats, show this tendency more rarely than those which in a state of nature roam in packs or herds, such as horses, elephants, and dogs, who will, on occasion, willingly accompany their masters into battle, and even die in their defence.

Interesting as these facts are, and instructive in showing how the roots of the social instinct are buried deep in the animal constitution, a great leap forward is seen here as elsewhere when we rise into the human world; even in the case of the lowest savages, there are capacities for sympathy and co-operative effort unapproached among the highest sub-human creatures. "In the ordinary relations of life they are of a friendly, cheerful, and amiable disposition, and live together in perfect harmony. They are remarkable for their unselfish liberality, and their fervent attachment to their friends and kindred." [1] Wallace in describing the habits of the forest Indians of Brazil, who belong to a low type, says of them that "they scarcely ever quarrel among themselves, work hard, and submit willingly to authority." [2]

[1] Featherman, *Social History of Mankind*, i, p. 501.

[2] Russel Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 361. "In short, there is found in the humblest tribe of savages no small share of the capacity to bear and forbear, no slight measure of warm affection, and of natural humanity. The dance and the chant, the merry game and the funeral wail, their wedding festivities, and their care of the sick and infirm, even though it tires at last in the case of the very aged or the chronic invalid, the festive ceremonies

Biologically speaking, social sympathy has been the main condition of the survival of races, those most highly endowed with this quality proving more efficient and persistent in the struggle for life, whether against natural conditions, or in inter-family and inter-tribal competition for the means of livelihood. Nor is the reason far to seek. The capacity to live together in amity and mutual forbearance is the prime condition of co-operation among men ; and co-operation is the condition of successful resistance and attack against many forms of environal disadvantage. Primitive man found in the course of his rough experience that when several families united for common purposes they prospered better than when they lived in isolation. The feelings of regard between members of a family began to extend to those who joined them in mutual service ; individual friendships and common alliances were formed ; and the clan-system began to develop. This tendency to union has been very unequally developed among the various races of mankind. Generally speaking it may be said that progress has followed the path of sociability among nations ; those who proved incapable of forming firm and ever-widening alliances have remained stagnant, or have died out, while the peoples whose instinct for union has grown stronger with the passing centuries have not only survived, but have developed a rich and complex type of social existence. Geographical conditions have profoundly affected this movement towards racial unity ; only where the climate is favourable to human life in large communities

of naming, and initiation, the devotion shown by each to the other in battle, and the general cohesiveness of life from year to year mark in the poorest savages an advance solid though not phenomenally above the highest social life of the lower animals." Sutherland, *Origin of Growth of the Moral Instinct*, i, p. 351.

and where the configuration of the earth has permitted free intercourse among the nations, has the social impulse been able to realise itself on a large scale. The movement has developed along two lines, as it were at right angles to each other. In many races it has manifested itself by its depth and its narrowness. There is much warmth of feeling within the limits of the family and the tribe. The ordinary savage feels much devotion towards those within his own tribe, but he spears or brains the outsider without compunction. The "stranger" is the "enemy," whom it is one's duty to destroy in battle or cheat in trade whenever possible.[1] Races who failed to overcome these narrow barriers to sympathy, as for instance the Indian tribes of America, persisted till recent years in non-progressive and precarious nomad communities, living in a state of almost perpetual inter-tribal warfare; but they have been quite unable to survive the impact of the more closely articulated white races who now occupy their lands and have almost forgotten their existence. In the larger national aggregates this type of restricted sympathy has manifested itself in less pronounced but still potent forms, and accounts for the present division of the human race into particular nations separated by specific social, religious and ethical customs, and held together by a passionate patriotism. This tendency of races towards segregation within the limits of particular geographical boundaries has not been an unmixed evil. It has resulted in the development of distinctive types of racial character, and of specific forms of civilisation which have contributed immensely to the social achievements and spiritual wealth of mankind. Patriotism has

[1] Even in Latin, the word *hostis* may be equally rendered *stranger* or *enemy*.

flowered into manifold forms of heroism, has inspired literature and art to their finest embodiments, has expressed itself in lofty types of religious enthusiasm, has quickened races into fullest spiritual self-expression and is still one of the most powerful incentives to progress. Those few nations which have been big enough to form large ideals, and have been sufficiently intense in feeling and persistent in action to give these ideals a permanent form, have done more for humanity than all the medley of scattered tribes of history put together. Egypt, Assyria, Israel, Greece, Rome, among the ancients; Italy, France, Britain, Germany, among nodern peoples, not to speak of the rich and varied nations of the East who are still only half awakened, but who have surely much to contribute to human progress when their day has dawned —what would the world have been but for these? And in all of them the primal fount of their distinctive greatness has been a unique sense of that "social individuality" whose appropriate sentiment is an ardent patriotism in its larger sense. Of the less admirable aspect of this sentiment much might also be said.

Social sympathy, however, tends to extend itself laterally as well as intensively. The impulse to goodwill has overflowed the limits of race and nation in ever-widening circles of regard. The very impact of nation on nation, their mutual jealousies and antipathies, their rivalries, wars and conquests have brought them into closer contact with each advancing century, and in spite of periodic outbursts of internecine struggle, the tendency on the whole has been towards the growth of a kindlier attitude and a warmer regard between the races of mankind. The oft-quoted maxim of the Latin dramatist *Nihil humanum a me*

alienum puto—"I count nothing human foreign to myself"—was a sentiment far in advance of his own time, but that such a word should have been spoken, and that it should have found so wide an echo in the hearts of men, suggests that the ultimate limit of the outgoing sympathies of mankind is the limit of the race itself. Many causes have been working to this ideal end. Commerce and trade have from very early times brought about an interchange of benefits between one people and another. The divisive influence of language, which separated men so widely for long milleniums, has been gradually sapped by the translation of the masterpieces of each nation into other tongues; political alliances, however short-lived, have intensified national friendships and promoted intercourse; the slow rise of international systems of philosophy, art, and science have contributed to the sense of a common interest in the great ultimate mysteries and problems underlying thought, and to the conviction of the essential oneness of the human mind everywhere in all ages. During the last few generations the increasing facilities for world-wide travel and intercourse, and the expansion of commercial relations till they include the most widely severed races of mankind, have accelerated this process of widening sympathy beyond all previous parallel. Finally, the unifying influence of the Christian faith, especially in its missionary activities, has powerfully reinforced the movement towards realising the social unity of the world as a whole, and is preparing for the time when men of all colours and creeds will recognise the fact of their common humanity, and the claims of each man on the regard and love of all. The divisive forces that have so long kept apart the various types and nations of mankind are still powerfully

operative; probably they will never be altogether overcome, but in spite of many discouraging checks, the inevitable trend of human thought and feeling is to the recognition of the solidarity and oneness of the race.

In these expansions of human sympathy, and the consequent recognition of the mutual claims of men on each other's consideration, the moral sense of the race finds an ever-expanding call and opportunity for exercise and development. The feeling of responsibility grows deeper with deepening sympathy and wider with its diffusion. All the ethical virtues, even those which are quasi-self-regarding, are at root social in character. Even self-respect is only respect for the common ethical nature we share with our fellow man; it is "duty with an internal sanction."

III

Moral action tends to crystallise into definite standards of conduct for individuals living in social relations. The first of these is *custom*, or the aggregate of unwritten regulations handed down from age to age, and recognised as binding on all included within their scope. The earliest form of this social deposit or crystallisation is found in the sphere of the family. We wake up to our social responsibilities in the home life, and certain principles of conduct are bedded into our moral natures during the sub-conscious discipline of infancy. This sanction is enforced by the parental will, which is the first and last court of appeal for the child. With the sense of expanding

relationships in the social circle, we come under the stress of the vague but potent forces of *public or communal opinion*. This is the organ of all those social usages and habits which grew up with the settlement of inter-family and inter-tribal disputes in primitive society. As these became more definite and settled, they were enforced by penalties and punishments administered by the tribal head and carried out under his behest. Finally, in the long evolution of the social order, settled codes of *public law* were slowly formulated, and the regulation of individual behaviour was entrusted to the legal and executive functionaries of the State. These codes were in existence long before the art of writing was invented; indeed, some of the earliest extant forms of literature are versions of legal enactments which must have had a long history before they could take such an elaborate shape as we find (e.g.) in the code of Ḫammurabi, which was compiled probably towards the end of the third millenium B.C. Every great nation has evolved its own code of laws, and those nations which come in the central line of human history have borrowed freely from those that preceded them, modifying the legal systems of the past according to the circumstances and ideals of their own corporate life. The common basis of law in modern civilised States is to be found in the Roman system, itself the long growth of centuries of vigorous social activity and struggle. The ideal legal code is one which combines the surest guarantees of social stability with the freest range of liberty for the individual citizen—a problem which is never fully and finally solved, because the conditions of national life are constantly changing with the changing needs and constant expansions of human society.

IV

It must be affirmed however that our investigation of the conditions under which the moral life of mankind has developed has only brought us to the threshold of that mysterious fact in the proper sense of the term. We pass this threshold when the compulsions of outward custom, opinion and law, are transformed in the secret place of the soul into the inner inspirations of duty. No amount of external pressure can produce a truly moral act; that can only emerge when it is the expression of the free choice of an alternative from which all sense of outward compulsion or necessity is eliminated. This momentous transition from mere *behaviour*, which is the ordered action of a living being under the play of motives determined from without, to true *ethical conduct*, which is the ordered action of a free personal agent determined by motives from within, is one of the qualities that distinguish man from the animal. *How* such a change took place, and *when* it first appeared in the history of life on earth, are mysteries we shall never solve, for the record is lost; what is certain is that somehow and at some time such a step was taken; all we can do is to recognise the fact and endeavour to value it at its unspeakable worth. It may have been by a sudden leap of self-realisation in some favoured specimen of incipient man; it may have come slowly and imperceptibly, very much as the same change takes place in the life-story of each individual soul. The fact that we cannot now recover the stages of the process is no reason whatever for refusing to confess to the reality and uniqueness of the fact. As pointed out in an earlier chapter, the related sciences of biology,

psychology and sociology can only furnish us with the conditions for the emergence and activity of this unique function of our nature—that which apprises the varying *worth* of alternatives of conduct, and chooses the one in preference to the other, on the ground that we *ought* to do so. What we have endeavoured to show in this chapter is that the *biological* conditions are furnished by the organic and social demands we make on each other, and that the *psychological bond* which makes ethical conduct possible is an ever growing and ever refining sympathy or fellow-feeling. *In such a milieu our moral sense awakens and we gradually come to the realisation of our mutual rights and duties as members one of another.*

The significance of all this for the providential function of mankind is the power involved in the possession of a common moral nature for the betterment and perfecting of our social life. Through the free interaction of persons living in society they influence each other for good or evil; by their combined social activities they can make it easier or more difficult for individuals to become the men and women they ought to be. The survival and well-being of the lower species is determined by individual impulses, and social affinities or repulsions, which are instinctive and automatic; these are settled for them by what they are and by the environment in which they live. The survival and well-being of the various aggregations of mankind are partly determined by similar impulses, affinities and repulsions; but there is this crucial point of difference—that within these biological and social factors there is a self-directive power of a unique kind; and human conduct is in the last resort not only voluntary, but free. The work of betterment, in other words, may be hastened, checked or reversed

by their own unconstrained action. Or we may express it in still another way, and say that man is a creature not yet fully made, but in the making, and that the ideal part of him, which embodies what is still unattained of his nature, is within his own capacity to reach or to miss. The task of realising this ideal nature is one full of difficulty and strain. He is weighted with all the heritage of his animal ancestry, held back by lower self-regarding impulses, hindered by a thousand social disabilities derived from past ages of failure and evil, drugged by the seductions of the senses and the allurements of a life of easeful indulgence. When we realise the tremendous power of these hindrances to further advance, the problem inevitably suggests itself whether the resources of our moral nature are sufficient of themselves to compass the ideals which beckon us on so persistently, but which are so hard to attain. The moral history of our race gives us but small hope of this result; it is full of the records not only of failures but of reversals, to counterbalance the advances undoubtedly made at times; and it is still a moot question with some ethical thinkers whether the race as a whole has made much real *ethical* advance within the period of recorded history. The question thus arises whether there is a power higher than man himself on which he can draw for the reinforcement of his own moral nature in the pursuit of his individual and social ideals? This brings us to the problem of religion, which is the sphere in which man comes into relation with the spiritual forces of the universe, and of which his higher nature is an expression and an embodiment.

CHAPTER VI

MAN'S EQUIPMENT—PARTICULAR

IV. RELIGION IN DEVELOPEMENT

IN the first volume of this work an account was given of the meaning and growth of Religion in the history of mankind, and we need not go over that ground again. Here we shall restrict ourselves to a brief study of its place and value for the fulfilment of Man's function in the providential order, i.e., how far it has helped or hindered him in realising this function.

I

If we ask how far back in his career has man been a religious being, it is now recognised pretty generally that we can come upon no trace of a time when he was not inchoately religious. It is certain at least that when we come on the earliest records of mankind, the race had already had a long religious career, with an elaborate system of beliefs concerning the supernatural world, and probably settled habits of worship, prayer and sacrifice. Beyond the range of recorded history lie the prehistoric times of which the only information we have is that gained from scattered tombs, cromlechs, Druidic circles, and other

memorials of Man's early spiritual activity. Unquestionably man was religious throughout the whole of this period. As early as the Mammoth age man practised funeral rites, believed in a future life, and possessed fetishes, and even idols. The story of religion is thus apparently conterminous with the story of the race. What is true intensively is also true extensively. Man in the broad sense of the word, is religious everywhere. The earlier anthropologists were under the impression that many extant tribes were totally devoid of religion, but this impression has now been dissipated. There is no known tribe of men, however savage, which has not some vague beliefs concerning spiritual things.

II

It is clear, however, that the influence of the lower nature-religions (and some of the higher also, e.g. Buddhism) has had an inhibiting rather than inspiring effect on Man's attitude towards Nature. So long as man had to fight his way for foothold on the planet, and looked on Nature as his enemy rather than his friend; so long as he felt that the spiritual presences around him were inimical to his interests and welfare; all he could do was by sacrifice and offering to placate these unseen powers, and beseech them by prayer and penance not to harm or destroy him. During these long ages of conflict with natural conditions (and to-day among the decadent savage races) religion stood for little more than an organised system of terror. Doubtless primitive man had his moods of exaltation and delight in the splendour and beauty

of earth and sky, in which some foreshadowings of the beneficence of the Great Spirit must have come over him; but his lot was too wretched, his position on earth too insecure for these visitations of delight to be dominant and habitual. Even among those savage peoples who, according to Mr. Andrew Lang, have at the back of their religious beliefs the conception of a supreme good being, Maker of Heaven and Earth,[1] this idea has little influence on their outlook on Nature, which they imagine to be ruled by secondary evil spirits who can only be placated and made propitious by elaborate, and sometimes cruel rites and ceremonies.

There is, it is true, one widespread form of ritual custom among the lower races which is suggestive of a real effort to control Nature, i.e. *magic*. This however, must be carefully distinguished from religion, in which, according to Professor Gwatkin, there is always an implicit element of trust, even when it has to fight with craven fears or fails to rise clearly into consciousness. Magic is of two kinds—*sympathetic magic*, "which is a primitive attempt at science," by which the savage "tries to bring rain, and make crops to grow, or do other things which he believes he can do himself"; [2] and *magic proper*, by which the witch-doctor or medicine-man by his incantations "endeavours to wheedle or outwit the unseen powers, or to compel them by terror of some power supposed to be greater than theirs." Here we have a distinct attempt at the hegemony of Nature; but it is nugatory and barren because its methods are purely fantastic and meaningless, the instrument of control being the fancied influence of irrational and superstitious rites.

[1] In his book on *The Making of Religion*, passim.

[2] Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*, i, p. 249.

III

Religion did not really help man in his endeavours to extend his empire over Nature till he arrived at the notion of a "covenant-bond" between himself and the Gods or God he served, entered into with a view of enlisting authority over natural operations such as the fruitfulness of the earth, or their power to procure happiness and prosperity for men, or to secure victory over their enemies. The covenant-idea may indeed be said to be the germinal principle of true religion, inasmuch as it involves a sense of fellowship and co-operation between God and Man. It appears in many religions at least as far back as Totemism can carry us, and may be said specially to characterise the Semitic types of faith. In the Old Testament we have this notion developed in its supreme form. Jahweh was conceived of as essentially the "God of covenants," who entered into relationships of fellowship, protection and love with select individuals (Noah, Jacob, Moses, David), and with the chosen race (Israel) on condition of their obedience to His Will and the fulfilment of certain personal and national obligations. In this way men were led to think of themselves as instruments of a divine purpose, and the channels of a divine influence in the world, and to think of God as a great storehouse of power, friendship and grace on which men might draw by prayer and fellowship for great and high ends. It is characteristic also of the Old Testament (1) that it consistently represents Jahweh as the *faithful* God, who honoured His promises and never went back on His word to His people ("Know ye that the Lord thy God, He is God, the faithful God who keepeth covenant

and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations,") [1] and (2) that it as rigorously attributes the calamities that befell the chosen people to righteous retribution for unfaithfulness to their side of the pact.[2] In its more universal aspect this covenant-idea represents the fact that it is possible for man to enter into permanent relations of friendship and co-operation with God. It helps us to look at the order that characterises the universe as an expression of the faithfulness and consistency of its great Providential Governor in His dealings with his creatures[3]; and invests the laws of Nature with the sanctity and permanence of a well-kept promise. In this attitude towards the world there is an immense accession of confidence and trust; the dark shadows that had so long shrouded Nature to the human mind as the instrument of an unregulated will, or the playground of blind and incalculable forces, lift from her fair fields and her far horizons; she becomes "God-like, and my Father's,"—man's home, and not his prison or torture-chamber. How much this Biblical view of the world has done to encourage the specific modern view of the world as a beneficent system of law, and to stimulate patient scientific research, and the pursuit of truth, it would be impossible to tell; that its influence in this direction has been immense is certain; equally certain is it that it has penetrated far beyond the range of ostensibly religious thinkers, and has inspired many an investigator into the mysteries of life and matter, law and force, to hopeful perseverance, who would repudiate the idea

[1] *Deut.* vii. 9. Cf. *Isai.* xlix. 7.

[2] *Deut.* xxix. 25 ff. *Cf. Jer.* i. 16; xvii. 13, etc.

[3] Cf. *Psalms* 103, 104, etc.

that his trustful attitude towards the cosmic order is essentially religious in temper. Yet such unquestionably it is.

IV

The deepening of the idea of a covenant-bond into that of a system of ethical relationships, carries us a step further in the same direction. We owe the first distinct steps towards the marriage of morality and religion, to the work of the prophets of the Old Testament, and we owe the ratification of their union in an indissoluble marriage, to the teaching and work of Jesus Christ. Not that the ethical aspects of religion are not elsewhere unfolded; for some of the religions of the East are markedly ethical in tone, and in one so-called religion—Confucianism—the definitely religious element is almost submerged in the ethical. It is perhaps rather the *intensive character* of the Biblical morality that gives it its supreme place as a creative force. In the Old Testament the covenant relation is different from that of the heathen Semitic religions in several particulars. In the first place it is a covenant of choice rather than a covenant of nature; this gives it a soundly ethical basis to start with. Secondly, the Hebrew notion of the "jealousy" of Jehovah, has at its root a strictly ethical idea; for it is due to the great difference of character between Him and other Gods, and it is jealousy for His character and not his mere prerogatives, that He shows; the leading features of His character being righteousness and faithfulness to His bond. Thirdly, in the prophets the *character of the worshipper* is emphasised as the essential factor in worship, which is no longer as in

earlier times regarded as a ceremonial business, but as the homage of faithful and loving souls, of whose character, moral purity and just relationships with their fellowmen are necessary and acceptable attributes.[1] In Christianity as unfolded in the New Testament these features of the Old Testament faith are gathered up and transfigured in the relationship of the Divine Father to His children as revealed in His Son; the old covenant relationship becomes the "adoption of sons," and holy Love is made the supreme bond between God and man, and also between men and one another.

The redemptive work of Jesus Christ lifts the relationship between the divine and human to a still higher ethical plane. The purpose of that work was to vindicate the holiness of God from all complicity with wrong doing, while embodying a message of free pardon for the sin which was the real source of separation and alienation between God and Man. Christianity is thus the religion of forgiveness and reconciliation. It is the Religion of Redemption. The Incarnation of our Lord expresses the approach of God in intimate nearness to mankind, so near that He becomes one with us in our struggle with evil, suffering and death; His Atonement measures for us the cost and triumph of forgiving love in its outreach for us into the very depths and tanglement of the sin that "doth so easily beset" and enslave us; His Resurrection sets free the energies of that reconciliation in a new life of victory over all evil—which is the "unspeakable gift" of God in His Son. This is the "new covenant in His blood" out of which blossoms a new Heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Henceforth and for ever religion—the system of

[1] See *Isaiah* chap. i., etc., etc.

relationships that bind God and man—and morality—the system of relationships that bind men to one another—are not two departments of life, but two activities of one indivisible life, the "gold and silver sides of the same bright shield of faith." In Jesus Christ, creed, cultus, and conduct are for ever one and indivisible.

V

Man's place in the Providential order cannot be adequately described without one further statement. In virtue of his twofold nature, as on the one side a member of the physical order of living beings, and on the other, a member of a supernatural and spiritual order he has to determine his attitude to both worlds and to regulate his conduct accordingly. In one sense—as we have already shown—he is the end and climax of the evolutionary process, the purely vital impulse having reached in him its final expression. In another sense he is the first of a new order of being, i.e., one who has risen into correspondence with a fresh environment, and who is therefore destined for a new function in the hierarchy of being. This function, according to the Christian Faith, is to use the earthly, physical environment in the interests of the spiritual world. This germinal life of the spirit has been quickened in the matrix of the physical sensuous life—an environment capable of being transformed by it into values of inconceivable beauty and worth, but strongly resistant to its influence under the actual conditions of existence. There is thus a severe struggle going on between "flesh" and "spirit" in man's constitution, and the odds are against the

"spirit," inasmuch as it is germinal and inchoate, as must be the case with every fresh beginning, while the "flesh" is full-grown and in possession of the field. The higher principle of life, however, refuses to be put down, and while its actual *power* is small, its inherent *right* is inexpugnable and absolute, and if this right is denied, it revenges itself in ways that cannot be gainsaid. This schism between spirit and sense in human nature constitutes at once the glory and tragedy of man's experience, and explains his inward unrest, his high ideals, his pitiful failure to attain them, his inability to rest in the defeat of the spiritual elements within him, and his equal inability to give them the victory over the sensuous passions and self-regarding instincts which impede his growth, and destroy his peace. In his religious history we see the consequent clash and conflict between these two halves of his being. He is pulled two ways—in a downward direction toward the brute by his animal tendencies; in an upward direction by his spiritual affinities with his Creator. Were he left to himself in this unequal battle, the issue would be uncertain. But the conviction has been deepening in his heart that *the spiritual environment into which he has been slowly pushing his way is very different from the physical, in that it is consciously co-operant with him in all his strivings for foothold within it.* The Christian Faith sets its seal on this conviction, and reveals the way in which man can so improve his relations with the Unseen that his victory over sense and sin may be made certain and complete. It has also set its seal on the soul's instinctive out-reach after a life larger than that compassed within the few years of his earthly career, and proclaims him a citizen in a spiritual order that embraces eternity as well as time within

its scope. This life thus takes on the character of a pilgrimage to a higher, and experience becomes the arena of a discipline in which the lower and evanescent earthly order is utilised for the development of man's eternal relationships. Thus while man is immersed in this world for the time, he *belongs* to another in virtue of what is deepest and most characteristic in his being, and this world finds its true place in his affections and activities only in subordination to the interests of the other. The aim of Religion in its highest function is to reveal how this may be done, and to provide him with the reinforcements of power necessary for doing so. How to live in this world so that every individual activity, every personal experience, every social relationship may enrich the soul, and help to enrich others, on our passage towards the next—to " try us and fit us forth, sufficiently impressed "—this is the secret which we have to master here, and for the mastery of it there is nothing that can help us like the revelation that came once for all through Jesus Christ, who " brought Life and Immortality to light through His Gospel."

SUMMARY AND FORECAST

WE have now surveyed the environment in which man came into being on earth, and the factors and influences that went to his making as the creature destined to an active share in the future course of the Providential Order. Man is nature's masterpiece, proclaiming in his body the outcome of the central line of organic evolution; discovering to his mind the wonder of her resources, the order and sovereignty of her laws; revealing to his spirit the mystery of her origin and the miracle of his own spiritual constitution. In a sense he is nature coming into consciousness of herself, finding in him the key to her past history and the pathway of her future unfoldings. In producing human personality, the life-principle has broken through the rigid mechanism of the immanent order, and has joined hands with the Transcendent Spirit through whose creative energy all things have come into being. Nature is thus invested with new and profounder meanings, and the course of evolution has entered upon a fresh and higher chapter of development. The material world has henceforth become the theatre of an ethical drama; the *elan vital* which was hitherto the *vis a tergo* producing the wonders of organic life, is henceforth interwoven with the *vis a fronte* of moral

aims and spiritual ideals which produce *character*. All the achievements of the past are now transvaluated in view of the creative forces of the future; Biology no longer sums up the significance of life, but is taken up into History.

There is here a profound transformation of the evolutionary process. In the biological as in the physical world, the law of conservation of energy rides supreme; the lower creatures are determined in their actions by inner and outer compulsions, which they cannot resist; environment, instinct, impulse, modified slightly by intelligence, sum up the driving and restrictive forces which make them what they are. Human beings on the other hand are free personalities, each a creative centre of activity, in whom inherited instinct may at any moment be overridden by volitional and intelligent activity which rises in its developed form into purposive ethical conduct. In the words of Dr. Forsyth, "When evolution thus reaches personality and history, it becomes more than simple and outward merely. Its nature and method change. It becomes another thing when it has to do with freedom and purpose—with souls. In the soul we have a spiritual world that does not simply arise and crown the past, but invades it, and stands over it as its earnest and surety of the future. The end emerges in the man. Evolution then becomes a 'Kingdom of Ends.' History moves to ends, they are not merely points of transition. We have a rising series of peaks, not of links—peaks of single and outstanding value against the infinite sky. We progress by a series of crises, which close or harvest each movement or age, and gather its value not only to be carried over into the next age, but also registered and credited in eternity." [1]

[1] P. T. Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, pp. 176–7.

And so we pass from the consideration of man in the making, to man as emergent in actual history; from the creature who is a product of the past to the being who is in so large a measure the shaper and artificer of his own future. We step from the general to the concrete, from the vital and environal forces which have brought the human race to birth, to the particular stages of its story on the planet. In such a work as this, which is concerned with man in his providential function only, we will note only such facts as bear on our subject.

BOOK II

THE ARRIVAL OF MAN

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC NIGHT

I

THE conditions of the actual arrival of Man on earth are wrapt in impenetrable darkness. What special collocation of conditions made it possible for him to emerge out of the animal into the distinctively human condition, what were the vital forces that impelled him upward and onward, when the hour struck that transformed the man-like ape into the ape-like Man—these are mysteries locked in the immemorial past, nor is it likely that we shall ever know the answer. The record has been lost, and will probably never be regained. Again and again, the geologist and the anthropologist have announced that the " missing " link has been found in some prehistoric cave or river-bed ; but no agreement exists among the authorities to-day as to which of the various skeletons or parts of skeletons found here and there is the genuine relic of the earliest type of man, nor whether some of them belong to men at all. One thing is certain—there is no living creature on the earth's surface occupying an intermediate place between animal and Man. None the less, the scientific world, and all but a few, and ever fewer, in the world of theologians, are now persuaded that Man is genetically

derived from the brute creation by direct descent, and that whether by insensible stages, or by some sudden leap, he came into being through the lowly gateway of birth from some prehuman ancestor.

Does the " unity of mankind " imply descent from a single ancestor, or was there more than one starting point for the race? We hear of flowers of certain species appearing at particular mountain levels in places far removed, as though they were the fruit of similar climatic conditions, the seeds being as it were scattered in all soils, and waiting only for a favouring environment to quicken them into life. Were there conditions in the animal world at some distant period which made it possible for the human race to emerge in several favouring spots at or near the same point of time? The old belief that the human race, as we know it everywhere to-day, sprang from a single pair of ancestors, is held to-day almost universally by anthropologists. Be this as it may, Man is not only of far greater antiquity than was formerly believed to be the case, but he is the survivor of other anthropoid types which have totally disappeared from the scene.[1] There appear to have existed at one time at least

[1] Sir Arthur Keith writes: " We [anthropologists] all agree that modern human races, however different they may appear, are so alike in the essentials of their structure that we must regard them as well-marked varieties of a common species." (*The Antiquity of Man*, 1925, p. 712). Again: " The genetic relationships between species of men and species of animals has to be fixed on the aggregate of their structural characters, and when this principle has been accepted there can be no doubt that human races, both living and extinct, are descendants of a common stock." (*Ibid.*, p. 729). There is strong evidence that *Homo Sapiens* (modern man) is one of many (or at least several) upward movements manwards, and that some of the skulls of prehistoric man belong not only to different distinct species, but to distinct genera. (See Conklin's *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 407, 8). In Keith's *Prehistoric Man*, an attempt is made by means of a genealogical tree to place

two human types—the heavy or Neanderthal, characterised by great massiveness and strength of muscle, and the light or "modern" man, weaker and much less muscular, who has changed so little during the last two hundred thousand years or so, "that an individual whose bones have been unearthed from pleistocene deposits, might, if he were alive to-day, be taken to shops in the Mile-End Road and fitted out with ready-made clothes, boots, gloves, and a hat—all from stock sizes. In these he could probably walk up Leadenhall Street, and the Bank, and down Fleet Street and the Strand to Charing Cross, without attracting more notice from the crowd, which now takes aliens for granted, than would a modern Negro, or Chinaman."[1] The Neanderthal Man, though different in appearance "was at that remote period at a stage of development equally advanced with modern Man, and before he disappeared possibly could talk imperfectly, was right-handed, and had made some progress with the arts and crafts." Why he failed to maintain his place among living creatures is not known. Perhaps he became too

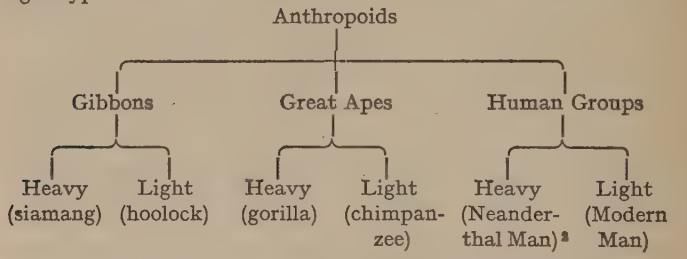
these allied types, which shows how some of them have run out, or developed into anthropoid apes, and that *Homo Sapiens* is the result of "several abortive attempts" to produce man (q.v.) There must have been much greater evolution of human types during prehistoric times than since the beginning of civilisation (Conklin, p. 408). "All changes, physical, moral and mental which have taken place during historic times have been great, but psychologically they were slight compared with the tremendous changes which must have occurred in those long ages before the ancestors of man actually became man." . . . "Within the historical period the evolutionary changes in man have been very small. . . . These are still taking place, but they are all of a minor character as has been shewn by Osborn in his *Cartwright Lectures on Contemporary Evolution of Man.*" (American Nat. Soc., vol. xxvi, 1892). (*Ibid.*, 409).

[1] *Modern Man and His Forerunners*, by H. G. F. Spurrell, p. 20.

"highly specialised" to meet the changes in climate, or to compete with other men after they had multiplied and the means of life had become scantier, or he may have been solitary in his habits and incapable of social ties. Anyhow, he totally disappeared without leaving anything but his scanty remains for a memorial of his existence.[1]

Approaching the same problem from the other end, and working backwards from modern times, we find mankind at present divided into three main groups of races. The first is characterised by long wavy hair, abundant beards, high foreheads "with a pair of

[1] It is an interesting parallel fact that the two groups of anthropoid apes descended from the primitive primates—the Gibbons and the Great Apes—have each developed into a heavy and a light type. Thus:



[2] "An average man of the Neanderthal race would be about the same height as an average modern man, but he would probably not stand so high, for he would not be able to hold himself erect. His normal attitude would be a bent-kneed slouch, not from preference or laziness, but from the shape of his bones. His legs were not built to be quite straight and his head was so fitted to his neck that it would have to be thrust forward. Instead of his head resting on the top of his neck like a modern man's, his neck was inserted into his head—below, it is true, but far back; more after the manner in which a dog's neck is continuous with his head behind. Then in general build he was far more bulky and massive than the modern type. . . . It would not be easy to clothe him with ready-made garments of stock shapes and sizes, and he would probably create a sensation if he appeared suddenly in a London street." (*Modern Man and His Forerunners*, pp, 20-1).

bosses divided by a shallow depression" from well-marked brows; high cheek-bones, small jaws, thin lips, and colour ranging from black to white. To this group belong the Ainus of Japan, and most of the races of Western Asia, India and Europe. The whitest of these races have in recent times spread from Europe over the greater part of the world. The second group have short crinkly hair, scanty beards, a velvety skin, convex foreheads without bosses, weak eyebrows, large teeth and jaws, wide and prognathous faces, retreating chins, with thick lips, and a broad flat nose. Of these the Tasmanians (now extinct) and the African negroes are the representatives. The third or Mongolian type has coarse straight hair on the scalp, with but little on the body, a harsh skin, high brows over sunken eyes, moderate sized teeth, a projecting but not pronounced chin, with particularly wide cheek-bones, and a colour ranging from yellow to white. The habitat of this race is Eastern Asia, but a branch once occupied America, since displaced by the white man, and now rapidly becoming extinct. These highly differentiated races, if they are all descended from a common origin, must have taken untold ages for these peculiarities to have become thus fixed. *And they are the survivors of other types which have passed away.* At least two other races, (possibly one in origin) occupied Europe during the decline of the last ice-age—the Cro-Magnon (now called the Aurignacian), who were large-brained, ingenious, and highly artistic; and the Grimaldi (so-called after the Prince of Monaco), with Negroid characteristics. Keith thinks that the Aurignacians are beyond doubt the same racial stock as the modern people of Southern and Western Europe,[1] and it is generally believed that

[1] *Antiquity of Man*, p. 100.

they were succeeded (though not absorbed) by Gergi's Mediterranean race. Of this we shall hear more anon.

In spite of these racial divergences, the modern races of mankind are at least entirely human, capable of interbreeding, having a common stock of mental, moral and spiritual qualities, unequally developed it is true, but identical in nature. Whether we belong to the degenerate Bushmen of Africa, or to the stagnant Eskimo, or to the progressive European races, we are all men, and are able to enter into human relations with other men. It has been one of the inestimable contributions of the great missionary movement of the last century that it has demonstrated the capacity of the lowest races to take in some of the meaning and power of the highest Faith the world has ever known, and in so doing have proclaimed themselves to be men in the truest sense. There is but one species of mankind, though there are many races, whose peculiarities are superficial compared with the wealth of communal qualities possessed by all alike. The unity of mankind to-day, whatever be the truth regarding the first origins of the species, is a fact that no one can doubt who knows the evidence. There is a basis of physical and spiritual relationships that proclaims the world of man to be potentially if not actually, one human society, and makes the " brotherhood of mankind " no mere dream of poet and enthusiast, but a bond based on an organic and ethical identity of nature and destiny.

II

What of the antiquity of man ?

Those who expect anthropologists to give a categorical answer to this question are doomed, and

are likely to be permanently doomed, to disappointment. We have no gauge of geologic time that enables us to make even an approximately accurate guess as to the length of man's tenure of existence on earth. If it be true that "it is the geologist who provides the prehistoric chronometer," that instrument is one whose rate of motion has never as yet been ascertained, nor does it synchronise very well with the still earlier sidereal clock of the astronomer. We know the order in which the various strata of the earth followed each other, and that human remains are not found below those of the tertiary period. How far back that extends we cannot say with anything like exactitude. It may have been some hundreds of thousands of years; it may be that we must allow for one or two millions in place of these thousands. Even as regards particular deposits we are left to the vaguest and most uncertain inferences. This uncertainty does not, however, preclude the confident statement that the story of Man extends to a period very much more remote than can be traced back by any historic tests.[1] Far beyond the most distant landmarks of historic time the race to which we belong has been here, slowly, and with many set-

[1] See Marrett, *Anthropology*, p. 34. Hutchison (*Prehistoric Man and Beast*) says that "nothing has yet been discovered to trace back the footsteps of the human race more than about 15,000 to 25,000 years." There is indeed hardly a question which is less surely determined by leading authorities than this of the antiquity of Man, ranging as it does from this inferior limit to as long (for a superior limit) as 3,000,000 or more years. The evidence in dispute is partly geological, partly astronomical, partly physical, and wholly disputable. It is enough to be sure that he has been here for a much longer time than we can trace back by any historical tests, which of course are based on some kind of record of events, or identification of some kind of social order. Four or five hundred thousand years would seem to be a reasonable guess as the period of man's story on earth.

backs, establishing its place on the planet. For a very long period its tenure of existence was precarious in the extreme. Man had to fight for his place with climatic conditions and changes which drove him from place to place, even from continent to continent, and possibly with invasions of wild animals which made it very hard for him to survive in competition with their superior might, numbers and cunning. Geologists speak of three, possibly four, ice-periods which swept over Northern Europe, and which made all human occupation impracticable for the time, exterminating or driving our earlier representatives southwards or eastwards to more congenial climes. During the whole of these primary eras of human existence, it is clear that there was no abiding city for the race anywhere, and that Man's hold on his habitat was precarious in the extreme. Environment controlled his movements and mode of life to such an extent that material, and much more, social progress was practically impossible for milleniums of time. He had to find his food as best he might, from day to day, from season to season ; and if any untoward condition arose or catastrophe happened, he had no stores of food or means of defence, with which to meet successfully such extra demands as unfavouring circumstances made upon him. In those early ages, we may say that contingencies must more than once have arisen which threatened the very existence of the race, and that Man only maintained his place in the organic order " by the skin of his teeth." [1] Survive, however,

[1] Attempts have been made by certain writers to connect the distinctive evolution of Man with physiological and environal peculiarities possessed in common with the lighter types of monkeys. This may be made clearer by comparing his evolution with that of the Horse, whose physical descent can be traced back with confidence into far geological times. Broadly speaking, the two lines of

he did ; and by slow degrees he managed to make his position safer, and slowly moved on to sufficient mastery of the conditions to enable him to turn his mind from the question of mere survival to the development of his social, ethical, and religious life. The earliest remains reveal him as already dwelling in some kind of society, possessed of definite weapons, having enough lesiure to exercise his artistic gifts, and in possession of a rudimentary form of religious belief.

III

A glance at the stages in the story of prehistoric Man will illustrate the last mentioned points, and suggest some useful conclusions.

The method of ascertaining the facts are two-fold.

development follow respectively the pathway of specialisation of structure (the Horse), and of versatility (Man). The Horse has specialised in his limbs, which move only in one plane with a view to speed, and his mental equipment follows suit. Among the Primates there is no such specialisation of organ or function ; they cannot afford to neglect any of their perceptions in order to preserve life ; there must be a highly effective co-ordination of brain functions with their appropriate sensory accompaniments, which express themselves mentally in a high intelligence. "One cannot observe a monkey sitting on a thin branch in a high wind, holding on with one foot, scratching itself with another, tearing the husk of one nut with its hands, and dealing with half-a-dozen other nuts with its teeth, tongue, and cheek-pouches, while its general suspicious vigilance is not in the least relaxed, without feeling compelled to admire a nervous organisation which can control so many different yet precise movements simultaneously without any diminution of sensory receptivity." (Spurrell, *Modern Man and His Forerunners*, pp. 24–6). This is illuminating as regards the difference between Horse and Monkey, but it does not touch the question *why* Man should have developed into such superfluity of mental gifts as compared with the Monkey. We can describe the pathway of Evolution, but its efficient causes are as mysterious as ever.

The first is to examine the environment as revealed by successive layers in the earth's crust, which are known to have been deposited in a certain well-ascertained order, and note where the earliest human remains occur. This is the *stratigraphic* method. The second is *anatomical*, and consists in examining the remains themselves, together with certain objects alongside, which evidently belong to these remains, and note their peculiarities. In this way, it has been found that the story of prehistoric man divides itself into two main periods—the palaeolithic or primary, and the neolithic or secondary, each divided into sub-periods that enable us to note the stages through which the race has passed on its way upwards through long ranges of time. The *secular* movement is fixed by an examination of the weapons and remains of implements and of artistic drawings on the walls of the caves, and these are fairly well differentiated in character.

1. The earliest remains in question belong to what is called *the stone-age*, so called from the fact that the earliest weapons discovered are made of flint in various stages of preparation. In the palaeolithic, or ancient stone-period, there are two stages, the eolithic (from *eos*, Greek for *dawn*), in which the flints in question are in the very earliest stage of manipulation, showing but faint traces of human handling, and telling us little except that Man had really commenced to shape the tools provided by nature; and the *palaeolithic* proper, where they are manifestly chipped and cut for more efficient use as weapons and tools. Considerable skill must have been attained by this time in the art of dealing with these difficult objects, so as to provide a cutting edge; they indicate plenty of muscular power in the arm, and

not a little cleverness of finger; indeed, some of these stones show no small artistic quality, and prove that early Man already took some delight in his handiwork. Even in that very remote period he showed that capacity of improvement which is his most outstanding quality as compared with the lower animals, and proved the value of the proverb that in his case "practice makes perfect," and that one man can learn from another. In the golden period of the palaeolithic era (the so-called "Acheulian" from the place where the deposits were chiefly found—St. Acheul on the Somme) there are masterpieces of flint-handling to be found; but in the "Mousterian" period that followed there was a decided set-back, the causes of which are unknown, unless it be a climatic change, such as the occurrence of a flood which drowned out the neat-fingered men of St. Acheul, and left the coast clear for the less developed Mousterians with their coarser type of culture.[1]

In the Niaux cave, situated in the Little Pyrenees there are some remarkable pictures, belonging to the latter palaeolithic period.[2] They are found about half-way through the cave, which is nearly a mile long, and is composed of a tortuous passage, just where it spreads out into a vast underground "cathedral" with spacious walls, on which the pictures are delineated. Here are nearly fifty outlines

[1] Marrett, op. cit. p. 46.

[2] This cave no longer stands alone. There are at least thirty other caves in Southern France and N.W. Spain in which there are drawings of beasts of the chase, executed with marvellous skill in the most difficult positions. Their *raison d'être* is now believed to be "sympathetic magic." Just as the modern savage objects to be photographed because he fears it would give the photographer power over him, the Upper Palaeolithic man believed that the drawings he made of the game he was going to hunt would give him a spell over them.

of game animals, among them one of a pony four or five feet across, "scarcely an inch of which is out of scale." Around them are numerous symbols which are probably intended to represent spells over the spirits of the animals with a view to securing success in hunting. Everything suggests a stage of culture in which Man has attained to a distinct theory of the spirit-world and of his power to affect it in his own interests. We have here the beginnings of both art and religion, reaching far back into the dark ages of prehistoric time, showing that Man had already really "arrived," and was in possession of a spiritual as well as intellectual equipment.

For already among men of the Upper Palaeolithic age there is clear evidence of religious worship. Certain figures of women, peculiarly hideous for the most part, and rendered still more so by steatopygy [1] have been discovered in deposits belonging to the earliest civilisation of Egypt, and have been claimed as the origin of figures of Isis; and it is generally agreed that the worship of the Great Mother which they represent, was widely spread in all the countries bordering on the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and from there was carried to Europe, and that this Mother goddess was the earliest deity worshipped by man. She was, of course, connected with the mysteries of fertilisation and birth; but may we not hope that for the best minds she stood for something more and higher? The existence of mother-love must have been obvious to primitive man in the whole world of Nature, and when we find him graving the well-known

[1] A protuberance of the hinder parts of the body, which is still a marked feature of certain low types of humanity (e.g. the Bushmen), and is considered by them to be a mark of beauty. The writer owes this statement to a missionary working in Central Africa.

image of the Great Mother at the entrance of the passage-tombs of France, or burying one in the grave of a child in the Yorkshire Wolds, are we not justified in thinking that he sought to personify it as the image of the Loving Power to whom he might commit his dead ?

2. The Neolithic age developed slowly and gradually, but when its zenith was reached a change of immense importance was made in the evolution of Man. This was the introduction of agriculture, and the domestication of animals. Man became no longer a nomad, but settled down in fixed abodes. His humble but important companion the dog came to his help. The beginnings of architecture were made in the wonderful funereal constructions of the late neolithic period, the dolmens and passage-graves which were built of megalithic blocks as sanctuaries for the dead. The appearance of this megalithic architecture in countries as far apart as Ireland and India, North Africa and Sweden, shows that some new religious idea was spreading in the ancient world, the idea that the immortality of the dead could be insured by the preservation of their bodily remains. We know that this idea was dominant throughout Egyptian history, and it is difficult to believe that it was not Egypt that taught it first to men in the West, though those wilder regions had to be content with the preservation of the bones, as they could not embalm. The first traces of belief in an after life are found among the barely human Mousterian folk; but this belief must have so developed in Neolithic times as to concentrate the main efforts of the late Neolithic age on the dolmens and later chamber tombs generally buried under mounds of earth or stone.

Neolithic man was small, dark and long-headed,

"with a language which has possibly left its traces in modern Basque"; and he penetrated as far as Britain, where he erected his long barrow and megalithic mounds, traces of which are to be found in many places. Most of the ruder peoples of the modern world were at the neolithic stage of culture when discovered by Europeans, and there are many races extant elsewhere who have not yet escaped out of this stage. Language had by this time become perfected for all practical purposes, though of little use for processes of abstract thinking; social organisations had been multiplied; custom had assumed a tyrannical sway; and religious beliefs had become complicated and awe-inspiring. If, however, we may judge by the extant tribes belonging to this stage of culture, the instinct of progress was held back for some reason, and society was stagnant. It would seem that each era of human society, the possibilities of development were limited by unyielding physical conditions such as climate and the kind of materials available for weapons and tools; and that not till Man discovered the use of metals was it possible for him to take any step forward.

3. With the discovery of metals, especially of their malleability and capacity for amalgamation through the medium of fire, a great leap onward was registered in the conditions of human life. *Civilisation, or its rudimentary beginnings, coincides with this discovery.* It placed man at once in a position of superiority over certain elements in his environment which had hitherto retarded his progress. It vastly improved the efficiency and range of weapons and tools; and it immensely increased and enriched the scope of art, by providing abundant easily manipulated and multiplied materials for plastic purposes. All

this released Man from the tyranny of fixed conditions, and enabled the plasticity of his own nature to realise itself for the first time in many, and ever more complicated, ways.

It is thought that the first metal to be worked was gold, both from its attractive appearance and from its superficial deposits, and the condition in which it is found rendering it easy to work. It was not abundant or widespread enough, however, to form the ground of any widespread change in human conditions. The two metals, the discovery of which completely altered the course of human destiny on this planet were *copper* in amalgamation with tin so as to form *bronze*, and *iron*. These metals had such a profound influence on the situation as to give names to the next two eras in the story of prehistoric times, and this influence has acted continually since. The *bronze age* began with the " recognition of copper as a malleable metal, and then as a material capable of being melted and moulded into form by the application of heat, followed up by the art of smelting the crude ore so as to extract the metal, and that of mixing metals in diverse proportions so as to prepare an alloy of requisite ductility or hardness, according to the special aims of the artificer."[1] This demands a considerable amount of trained intelligence as well as manual skill, and could only be possible in a community where these qualities were fairly highly developed; indeed the passage from the neolithic to the metal era of human development registers a step forward akin to that which during the last two centuries has transformed the whole conditions of human life from the mediæval to the modern.

The same remarkable advance in the power of

[1] *Encycl. Brit.* (9th Ed.), p. 339 (b).

manipulating metals was shown in the great artistic leap forward everywhere manifested during the bronze age. Not only is this seen in the beautiful bronze swords, spearheads, shields, torques, armillæ, etc., which have been found in many parts of the world, and which manifest the same general characteristic of form and ornamentation, but in the gold ornaments and personal decorative objects which have been exposed by the archaeologist's spade and pick. It is significant that the mimetic quality shown in some quarters by palaeolithic man, who restricted himself to the delineation of animal forms in his art gave way in Neolithic times (and later) to conventional or arbitrary forms, consisting of zig-zag lines and patterns —paralleled in North American forms — suggesting that the race had become sufficiently civilised to have a more or less independent life of its own, more remote from Nature, for this reason losing some of its freshness of treatment, for these forms are everywhere more or less stereotyped and fixed in character. There was also a new impulse given to navigation—at least in the Mediterranean and as far as Britain—where the tin required in the manufacture of bronze was to be found (in Cornwall), the British Isles being called the Cassiterides for this reason for long centuries afterwards.

North America presents us with a striking illustration of the significant change from stone to the bronze ages of culture. In the more northern portions, within the purview of recent history, a state of very primitive culture was found, followed by tribes of nomad hunters, in a pure stone period of primitive savage art, who, though they were familiar with the malleable deposits of rich copper on the shorès of Lake Superior, and even with the silver deposits of the same

region, which they used as weapons and ornaments, were yet totally ignorant of the use of fire for smelting, or of alloys, and were consequently in a state of cultural stagnation or decay. On the same continent, however, we find the highly developed civilisation of the Mexicans, and, in South America, of the Peruvians, who had learned to smelt the ores of the Andes, and to fashion for themselves bronze tools of exquisite hardness for quarrying and hewing the solid rock. By this means they built great cities, sculptured the statues of their gods, raised palaces, pyramids, and temples, " graven with elaborate sculptures and hieroglyphics by a people wholly ignorant of iron," [1] and manifesting a strong resemblance to the civilisation of ancient Egypt. This object-lesson in the conditions governing human progress shows clearly how dependent Man has been on his power of mastering his physical environment so as to be free from the tyranny of outward conditions.

4. This fact is further emphasised in the transition from the bronze to the *iron* age. Here there is no difference of principle, but rather the carrying out of the discovery of handling metals into further fields. The essential change lies in the greater abundance of the material, and the ease of dealing with it. The materials for bronze were rare and costly, and were found only in favoured and far-off spots, whereas iron-ore was widely distributed; while the long experience of the previous era made it possible to put it through the otherwise more difficult process of fusion, casting, and finishing. Because of the scarcity of copper and tin, we find that implements of the stone age, such as arrow-heads, lance-heads, etc., were used far into the bronze age, and even in certain

[1] *Encycl. Brit.*, i, c., p. 340.

regions, into the iron age. The use of the latter metal was also more or less affected by the fact that whereas bronze is a very durable substance, the ease with which iron oxidises renders it very perishable in comparison, so that we have far fewer relics of the early forms in which it was manufactured than we have of the objects belonging to the three previous eras. Nevertheless, " iron is the symbol of a period in which pottery, personal ornaments of the precious metals, works in bronze, in stone, and other durable materials, supply ample means of gauging the civilisation of the era, and of recognising the progress of Man in the arts, until we come at length to connect their practice with definite historical localities and nations, and the names of Egypt and Phœnicia, of Gadir, Massilia, the Cassiterides, and Noricum, illuminate the old darkness, and we catch the first streak of dawn on a definite historic horizon. Thus, with the mastery of the metallurgic arts is seen the gradual development of these elements of progress whereby the triumphs of civilisation have been finally achieved, and man has advanced to that stage in which the inductive reasonings of the archæologist are displaced by records more trustworthy as the historian begins his researches with the aid of monumental records, inscriptions, poems, and national chronicles." [1]

IV

Certain general considerations are called for before we pass on to the next stage in human culture.

1. When Man first appeared he was *devoid of racial*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

experience, and had to depend for his survival on the exercise of his "wits," these being an amalgam of primitive instincts and dawning reason. He possessed little initiative, being chiefly mimetic in his mental habits, so that one age transmitted its customs almost unmodified to the next. For long periods there was probably little change in his manner of life except such as was forced on him by circumstances; but *he had great adaptability*, and speedily adjusted himself to altered conditions. The penalty of failure was extinction, and such families or tribes as could not modify their habits at the call of necessity passed off the scene, leaving the race to be continued by more plastic specimens of their kind. The lack of writing made the transmission of the results of fresh experience difficult, though there must have been a certain accumulation of knowledge going on from age to age through the medium of language, tradition, and other methods of communication. For untold ages during the stone eras, life must have been a monotonous repetition of almost identical routine habits, modified by great recurrent physical catastrophes, or slow changes of climate, which drove the race hither and thither in search of better conditions. The type of life must have been tribal, for Man is a social creature, but the aggregations of populations could only have been small and scattered, and the family (or possibly the family-clan), rather than the community was the true social centre. There was no accumulation of wealth apart from such stores of weapons and personal belongings as could be easily carried about, as migration became needful. The building instinct had little opportunity for exercise for lack of means to rear permanent erections. Rough clay or wooden huts, caves and holes in rocks

or mountain sides,[1] wattle buildings laid on piles in swampy places—such were the first forms of human dwellings, varying according to the materials to hand. Life under such conditions lacked the first elements of progress; it was hard enough to continue to live at all from season to season; and man's mind was little more than an instrument for securing survival for the individual and the tribe. Such forms of religion as were possible at this stage appear to have been animistic in type, combined probably with a rudimentary form of ancestor worship; but there seems to have been some form of belief in spirits who controlled the chances of the chase, and who might be propitiated by spells and possibly sacrifices—if the rock-pictures of the [Niaux] caves have been rightly deciphered. And there are certainly indications, as we have seen, of some kind of belief in a future life.[2]

2. The crucial changes which marked the transition from the stone to subsequent ages give us a vivid impression of the conditions which enabled Man to pass from the stage of pure savagery to that of dawning civilisation. These changes were made possible by the discovery of weapons and tools that lightened

[1] Travellers passing along the road from Leukerbad to Leuk in Switzerland may see the site of rock-dwellings on the mountain side, which are reached by means of ladders and are still occupied very much as in the true stone-age.

[2] The indications of this fact are varied. Sometimes skeletons are found with the remains of prehistoric animals buried alongside, suggesting that they are left there for purposes of food for the spirit in its passage from this life to the next; sometimes weapons are found in convenient positions for the hand to grasp. A very curious feature is found in the remains of Neolithic Man in Scotland, in Sicily, in Egypt and elsewhere, in the postures of the body, which is usually place in doubled-up attitude, corresponding to the prenatal position of the human infant, suggesting a naive hope that man could "enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born again." (See Miss Newbigin, *Modern Geography*, p. 204).

Man's labour, increased his sense of security, *and provided him with the rudiments of leisure*, so that his creative instinct had some chance of displaying its activity. While his mentality was entirely absorbed in maintaining life and its barest necessities, he could make no advance, either personal or racial (this is as true to-day as ever); only when his mind enjoyed some breathing space between the duties of each day, and was freed from the incubus of fear of what might happen to him on the morrow, could it rise to the exercise of its autonomy over the rigid demands of nature on his energy. His earliest ingenuity was shown in the art of improving his weapons for their proper purpose; next came the beginnings of art in the polishing of these tools, and making them more beautiful in form. And there he stopped. Art everywhere preceded science, which had to wait for untold ages before its first crude beginnings were followed up, for lack of guiding principles. The interval was filled up by the beginnings of philosophy, and of religion in its more conscious forms; but this was not till a much later stage of culture.

3. The effects of physical and other conditions on the rate of progress is further illustrated in *the curiously uneven emergence of the race out of its primitive conditions*. We speak of the stone, bronze, and iron ages of human development as though they were successive stages in culture, and such, broadly speaking, they doubtless were. A wide survey of the populations of the world, however, shows that different sections of the race did not emerge out of the earlier into later stages simultaneously. On the contrary, we have to-day races on the earth's surface that are still in each of these stages of culture. In America, as we have seen, we find tribes in both the bronze and stone ages. On the

eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, there existed, at an early period, a highly developed civilisation, familiar with the arts of the bronze age, which passed away through vicissitudes familiar to students of ancient history; and it was followed by an incursion of savage hordes from Asia, ignorant of metallurgic arts, such as the steppes of that continent can parallel even now. Vast tracts of Africa and the whole of Polynesia and Australasia are still in that primitive state of culture; while here and there we find races in intermediate positions, scattered throughout the world. In Mexico and Peru large tracts of once civilised territory have been once more abandoned to utter barbarism and are inhabited by savage tribes; and in the "human débris" of those countries we have evidence of the alternations of semi-civilised, barbarian, and civilised ages in close proximity. The path of human progress is thus for the most part tortuous and complicated in the extreme. In one direction only do we find something like a clear and unbroken line of advance; and that is round the seaboard of that inland sea to the south of Europe whose conformation has provided adequate conditions for the instinct of betterment to work itself out with fairly unbroken continuity and success. The Mediterranean[1] Sea is the cradle of human progress, where its problems were more or less fully worked out, not only on behalf of the races inhabiting its shores, but through them for the human race as a whole.

[1] Using this term in its largest sense, as including all the countries having more or less easy access to it, such as Egypt, Assyria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and the northern coast of Africa.

CHAPTER II

RACIAL STRUGGLES IN THE DARK

FOR the true dawn of History, as suggested at the close of the previous chapter, we must study the annals of Mediterranean Man. Speaking in a broad and inclusive sense, the movements of races across and around that inland sea give us the earliest materials for watching the beginnings of that fascinating story, still incomplete, which has carried humanity forward from its primitive savagery and barbarism into that unstable condition of progress which characterises the western world to-day, and which is destined on all the continents of the earth to move forward to unknown developments in future. True, whole races of men have elsewhere had their being, have lived and laboured, have fought and conquered, have risen and died and passed away, leaving the scanty records of their former grandeur and gloom in the scattered remains that are now being busily unearthed from beneath river-beds and desert sands. True also, great nations in China, in India, and in Japan have developed strong and vigorous civilisations of their own, which persist to this day and are destined to have a potent hand in the shaping of the future course

of mankind; but these were static and unprogressive till they came into fertilising contact with the civilisation of the west, and began to awake to a sense of their larger world-function, which even now they are only slowly realising, and that in a curious unequal way. Certain it is that whatever contribution these nations may make to the world-civilisation of the future, they will have to take their cue from the Man of the West, and join him in what remains of his task of mastering the human environment, and of realising his still incomplete moral and spiritual development. Two questions meet us at the outset—What of the races that have taken part in this historic movement? and What of the physical conditions which have more or less determined these movements? The present chapter will deal with the first of these problems.

I

Race is "inherited breed," and involves mental qualities as well as physical characteristics. No one would mistake a Negro for an Englishman, nor even a German for an Italian, nor would you expect to find the same temperamental peculiarities in all of them. And yet there is no more difficult question than to find exactly what it is that makes them so different. The anthropologist longs for an external race-mark about which there shall be no mistake. "Cranium, cranial sutures, frontal process, nasal bones, eye, chin, jaws, wisdom teeth, hair, humerus, pelvis, the heart-line across the hand, the calf, tibia, heel, colour, and even smell—all these external signs, as well as many more, have been thought, separately

or together, to afford the crucial test of a man's pedigree." [1] Such is the variability, however, of the human individual that each and all of these features are apt to mislead in particular cases. Take one of the most obvious of all—colour. This is a very widespread element of contrast between human beings, unmistakable as between the black and lighter-tinted peoples. And yet it is probably due, in its inception, not to race at all, but to the effects of climate. When strongly marked, as in the Negro and the Esquimaux, it merely proves that the ancestors of each have been from immemorial times in climates strongly contrasted by heat or cold. In the far-distant, race-making period natural selection acted strongly on the body, because mind had not yet become the prime agent in survival. Those living in tropical countries survived according to the amount of protective pigment in their skins, and tended to transmit their colour to their progeny, thus giving them an advantage over their lighter-coloured comrades, and at last such families only remained as were at first variable and at last fixed in the direction of dark skins. Thus the Negro race was slowly evolved, and spread over the regions near the Equator, to which they were acclimatised. The men of the icy north, however, were privileged to survive for exactly the contrary reason, since a man with a whiter skin would have an advantage over a darker specimen of his tribe (white economises heat). We know, however, that the white planter who spends many years in India comes home with his skin charged with a dark pigment which no after treatment will remove. How far such acquired features would be transmissible to progeny if the white race continued without native

[1] Marrett, *Anthropology*, p. 72, e.

admixture for generations in a hot climate is quite unknown for lack of experimental proof; but the probability is that there would be selection in that direction. Other peculiarities might be added in course of time, and men of quite diverse race would become assimilated in colour, while brown, yellow and "red" would appear in intermediate climes. Colour thus cannot be relied on as a true mark of race. So with other peculiarities. There does, however, seem to be one curious feature which is more or less radically associated with true race, and that is the shape of the head.

The way in which this mark of race is discovered is by taking the greatest length and the greatest breadth of the skull, and noting the result of dividing the former into the latter after being multiplied by one hundred. Medium-headed people have an index of between 75 and 80. Anything above that makes a man long-headed and long-faced, and anything below makes him round-headed and broad-faced. There is still a modicum of plasticity in the head, and it is said by Professor Boas that observation on the head-form of the children and descendants of immigrants into America shows that there is a tendency towards a lengthening skull after the second generation, and that among all nationalities. But on the whole this characteristic is more widespread and persistent as a mark of race than any other, and anthropologists have accepted it as the most reliable and significant of all the known marks of race-descent, and as the one which is most clearly accompanied by certain psychological traits. Taking, therefore, the head-form as our guide, we find that Europe is populated by three distinct strains of humanity, dating back to prehistoric times, and persisting down to the present.

At one time each of these was in more or less distinct possession of different portions of the continent, and though within historic times there has been a certain amount of mingling, it is still possible to trace the broad lines of demarcation.

The first is that which goes by the name of the *Mediterranean stock*. It is now agreed that it came originally from Africa, emigrating by various short routes across the sea. Men of this type are dolicocephalic or long-headed, of slight build and somewhat low stature, with dark hair and eyes, and a brownish complexion. There are at least four branches of this race. One of these remained in Africa, and became the progenitors of the Egyptians, the Libyans, and the Berbers. Of the others, the Iberians crossed by the Straits of Gibraltar, and occupied Spain. The Ligurians came via Sicily, passing up into Italy and along the coast of the Italian Riviera, till they encountered the Iberians on the west. The third group, the Pelasgian, came by the islands of the Mediterranean, and invaded Greece. The question whether an earlier migration composed of palaeolithic Man had previously peopled Europe, or whether the immigrant African race displaced some later, but still, primitive type is still unsettled. It is at least certain that the first *considerable* population of Southern Europe came by migration from the south. The incoming race settled along the seashore, never at first penetrating very far inland, and being defended by the Alpine range from interference from the north for a sufficient length of time, became thoroughly indigenous, and developed a characteristic civilisation of its own.[1]

The second chief branch came from the east, and

[1] Newbigin, *Modern Geography*, p. 204, 5.

settled along the grass- and up-lands of the mountain slopes to the north of the Alps, hence their name—*the Alpine race.* They were round-headed people, resembling the Mediterranean man in the coloration of the eyes and hair, but lighter in tint, the hair tending towards chestnut and the eyes hazel-grey, the especial feature being, of course, the broad face and round head. The original home of this race seems to have been the plateau districts of western Asia, whence they migrated in successive swarms, penetrating as far as the British Isles, where they encountered the long-headed aborigines. They drove eastwards into China, where they established the Manchu dynasty in the fifteenth century A.D., and southwards (much earlier) into Turkey. The grass-lands being the paradise of the horse, which these people had domesticated, they soon proved formidable in warfare, and drove through the earlier scattered populations without much difficulty. Palaeolithic Man knew of the horse, for his remains prove that he was accustomed to eat it, but he never seems to have managed to tame it. Hence he had no chance against the invader from the east.

Still working our way northwards, we come upon the third chief branch of European Man—the Nordic or Teutonic, which from very early times inhabited the forest-lands of Germany and surrounding regions, a fact that seems to have deeply affected their type of civilisation, which they acquired during their primitive struggle with forest conditions. Men of this race are of tall stature, with long skulls and faces, blue eyes and fair hair, light complexions, and aquiline noses, who originated probably in north-eastern Europe, whence they migrated into the western portions of the continent.

In the early ages we find these three races occupying fairly distinct regions:—the Mediterranean man in the countries bordering on the sea, the Teuton in the far north, and the Alpine man "pushing like a wedge between them." In course of time, as each multiplied, owing to being more and more suited to his environment, he spread out in the line of least resistance, and came into conflict with his neighbours. The Mediterranean pushed westwards rather than northwards (as he was constitutionally liable to chest complaints, and naturally moved along the line of equable climate) and penetrated across southern France into Britain, where he has left his mark in the long-barrows which are the abode of his dead. But besides the long-barrows, we also find round-barrows—the mark of the round-headed Alpine race, and in many *tumuli* we find the long-heads and the round-heads buried together, showing that they both fought and intermarried with each other. Again, the Alpine man pressed southwards, and invaded the plain of Lombardy where he has left deep traces of his presence in the physique of the people to this day; and northwards till he came into violent contact with the warlike Nordic man. Here he succeeded in penetrating into the lowlands of Germany, which contains a different race from that still inhabiting the north. At present Alpine man occupies the upland and relatively unfruitful regions of France, and portions of Brittany, but he has left but small traces of his stock in Britain, where the "Celts"[1] are practically extinct, though their language still remains to show their presence at some prehistoric time; he is also to be found in parts of Scandinavia, especially on the coast of Norway;

[1] According to Scott Elliot (*Prehistoric Man*, p. 253), the Celt was an amalgam between the Alpine and the Teutonic races.

and in great numbers in Austria. Nordic man has retained almost unchallenged his possession of north-west Europe, chiefly owing to his adaptation to the severe climatic conditions, but in recent times he has shown a strong tendency to multiply at a rapid rate, and has been pushing westwards with immense force.

It is from the age-long conflict and intercourse of these powerfully-vital strains of humanity that the European type of civilisation has been evolved, partly out of the wreckage of the earlier Mediterranean type, which came to its climax in an intellectual direction in the civilisation of Greece, and in a political direction in the Empire of Rome; partly also in the fierce stresses of mediaeval wars, and in the recent competitions and exchanges of the scientific and industrial era. This, however, is to anticipate a later stage in our argument. Here we merely note the racial factors that have been at work from prehistoric times to the present day.

II

Can any light be thrown on the forces at work in the migrations of peoples?

1. *Geographical conditions* doubtless partly determine such movements. Slow climatic changes may force races to leave their habitat in search for abodes less inhospitable. This was certainly the case with the ice-ages in Europe, which probably more than once almost if not quite depopulated the whole continent. Long droughts have had the same effect in parts of Asia, America, and Africa, driving the nomad tribes hither and thither in search of food and fodder; this

in some cases has been periodic within the historic era. This influence, however, cannot account for many of the migrations that have taken place since the present period of more or less stable climates in most parts of the world.

2. *Increase of population* beyond the capacity of the soil to maintain life is probably the most powerful incentive. Primitive man was essentially conservative in his outlook and habits ; but he had to live, and was often driven by the stern necessities of hunger to seek not only for more congenial climates, but for easier conditions of life, and more abundant nourishment for himself and his little ones. This would account for many of the swarms that spread from the east towards the setting sun during the period that lies just beyond the verge of recorded history. They would naturally sweep towards the most promising regions within range, and as these regions were probably occupied by other tribes, there ensued a conflict in which the strongest prevailed, the conquered races being either annihilated or reduced to a kind of slavery, the latter plan being more generally followed—at least in later times.

3. There are other less estimable motives which account for the later migrations of mankind. The chief of these is the *lust for power* which is the taproot of war. Envy, fear and jealousy account for many of the racial conflicts of history, and doubtless for some that lie beyond our vision. Barbaric hordes, skilled in warfare, seeing the superior wealth of more settled and peaceful tribes, have always been prone to fall upon them unawares, often destroying a civilisation which they were incapable of maintaining themselves, and registering a set-back in progress over large regions.

4. This, however, does not exhaust the list of migratory motives. Something must be set down to an *inherent restlessness and enterprise in human nature*, which in spite of all its conservative instincts acts like a periodic goad, urging man to penetrate adventurously into the unknown. Geographical causes have not the same effect on all animals. Some lie down and die where they are, when visited by unfavourable conditions; others rise and fare forth seeking refuge elsewhere. Man has never, where he could conquer her, permitted "Nature" to get the better of him, but, if beaten in one place, has left his habitation when it has proved too severe and has gone forth cheerfully into the unknown, "seeking a country" where he may dwell in security and peace. This spirit of adventure is one of his inalienable and fruitful attributes; without its pressure and sting, he would long since have followed the *megatherium* and *dinosaur* into extinction. It has acted on favoured specimens of the race in the midst of comparative plenty, and even of luxurious wealth. Alexander the Great and Columbus, we may be sure, were not the only individuals who sighed for new worlds to conquer. Races as well as individuals have shown this adventurous spirit, and it has come on them at times with irresistible force (as on the British people in the reigns of Elizabeth and Victoria), driving them forth restlessly into the unoccupied parts of the earth, where they have founded new nations and started fresh centres of civilisation.

5. Migrations, to be racially effective, must be *domestic*, and not merely military, i.e. they must include the women and children. The occupation by Rome of Britain was in some respects of immense importance, but it had little effect on the stock. Not

till the Teutons came in their thousands with their families, settling first of all in the Eastern portions of the island, and gradually as it spread westward amalgamating with the indigenous population, was there a real mixture of races. Everything is at the start in favour of the native. He has, in the first place, been acclimatised, developing peculiarities of physique proper to his surroundings. He is free from the costly work of transporting helpless women and children. The immense majority of his fellows are like him in habits, tastes, and surroundings. The invader, on the other hand, at once dilutes his blood by half as soon as he marries a native, and settles down with the certainty that it will be quartered in the next generation. In the subsequent process of acclimatisation, his ranks will be thinned. He has to struggle against the distrust of his new neighbours. Constant reinforcements are needful to enable him to maintain himself at all. It has thus been well said that *the greatest obstacle to the spread of man is man.* "Collignon is right in his affirmation that when a race is well settled in a region fixed to the soil by agriculture, acclimatised by natural selection, and sufficiently dense, it opposes an enormous resistance to absorption by newcomers." [1]

This accounts for the fact that in many parts of Europe, the indigenous population has kept pure for untold ages, so that we probably have representatives here and there even of the palaeolithic stock itself; and the neolithic seems certainly to have persisted long enough, as we have seen, to leave traces of its language in modern Basque.

[1] Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 30.

III

Temperament and race are closely related. Can we trace any general psychological characteristics peculiar to the three dominant races of Europe?

1. It is characteristic of the *Mediterranean man* that he is *gregarious*, and loves the city rather than the country. He is energetic, restless, imaginative, mentally alert and adaptive. As a coloniser, he is quick to make his home anywhere, but he loves to form little colonies of his own amidst the population into which he penetrates (cf. the segregation of Latin immigrants in American cities). He makes a good sailor; navigation was born in the Mediterranean Sea, and came to its early modern development among the Italians and Spaniards of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when it was taken up by the British. This feature is shared by the Teutonic races from the times of the Vikings to our own.

2. The *Alpine stock forms* a *strong contrast in these particulars*. The round-headed man is naturally attached to the soil on which he makes his living. He shows a strong disinclination to betake himself to the town, and is generally found in the village or country. The hill-dweller of the Alps and Pyrenees shows a certain passivity and patience, degenerating often into morbidity and melancholia, especially in Russia, where the inert Slav (round-headed) peasantry submitted for long ages to the rule of the despotic Romanoffs for lack of the instinct to form social groups strong enough to rebel successfully against the

imposition.[1] When roused, however, the Alpine type is brave and persistent, as has been proved in Switzerland, where, however, the difficult nature of the country has helped him to set up an effective barrier against aggression. The man of Alpine stock has not proved good at colonising; he prefers to remain at home, where he is a good neighbour and a contented and law-abiding subject. If he moves to the city, he generally endeavours to return to the country to spend his last days. In most countries, he clings to his patrimony and his habits of thought and faith with obstinacy, and bears persecution with a stolid patience. In any community of which he forms a part, he represents the conservative element.

3. The *Teutonic man resembles both his fellow races* in certain particulars, and *possesses some peculiarities of his own.* Physically strong and adaptive, he is capable of surviving in many types of climate, but is generally most at home in temperate and colder air. Originally a forest dweller, and found in small communities, of which the family was the central feature, he is firmly attached to wife and children, and carries his love of home with him everywhere. His great bodily vitality has made him adventurous and restless, and he is ruthless in war and dominant in peace. He has been a disturbing force in history, as the annals of the Goth and the Hun, and recently of the Prussian people, well illustrate, as compared with the mild Saxon of southern Germany, who is of Alpine extraction. The Nordic strain in the British people, interwoven with the Mediterranean stock, has made

[1] Since the Great War the Russian Revolution has broken this power, but the peasantry show so far little capacity for self-government, etc.

it the colonising race *par excellence*, and fitted it for its historic function with physical vigour and temperamental enterprise; while the slight infusion of Alpine blood has given it stability of aim and continuity of purpose. The westward migrations of all peoples has contributed to the British race indeed something of that cosmopolitan character which distinguishes it above all others; and our limited area and island-home have provided security for a more thorough mixing of the various strains that have come over successively from the continent in both prehistoric and historic times. Our race is thus at once composite in origin and yet fairly homogenous in type through long intermixture. Whether it has gained final persistence, and will survive the mingling of races which the future seems to hold in its programme is a question which time alone can decide.[1]

IV

The Western continent seems to be the destined area of the final process of the admixture of races. When Columbus sailed to America, he did more than

[1] Beddoe (*Anthropological History of Europe*) gives some interesting facts and deductions as to the comparative ability of the long-headed and round-headed types. He says that a line from Edinburgh to Switzerland, crossing another from Normandy to the Baltic, will run along the district which has produced the largest number of great men. This suggests that the long-headed are superior in ability (a position strongly denied by Schaffhausen but as strongly affirmed by Stuart Chamberlain). He also says that of first-class Cambridge men there are more long-headed as well as more capacious brains than ordinary (p. 185); that the East, North and South of Britain surpasses the West (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle gives the palm to Hants and Suffolk). Of the British races he says the Welsh rise in commerce, the Scotch coming after

discover a continent; he unfolded a new breeding-ground for the species, where a free opportunity was to be provided for the amalgamation of those races which in Europe had failed for historic and other reasons to intermingle in any intimate way. The indigenous Indian of North America proved unable to withstand the impact of *Homo Europaeus*, though he has contributed something to the resulting amalgam, as any traveller in the States can easily see. But from the fifteenth century on, there has been a ceaseless flow of population from this side of the Atlantic into the broad and fertile Western world; first in trickling rivulets, then in broadening streams, and, during the nineteenth century and since, in an overpowering avalanche of humanity, till "the small one has become a thousand, and a little one a strong nation."

We of the British race are so accustomed to think of North America as a Western extension of our own stock, that the discovery is thrust upon us with something of a shock that it comprises peoples of every European, and of many Asiatic (as well as the

them, the Irish being nowhere. The Welsh hold their own fairly well in art and science, the Scotch do more, the Irish less. In military and political distinction the Scotch, especially the highlanders, are easily first, the Irish retrieve their position, the Welsh are nowhere. The Old Roman was a high type of the long-head (p. 186). In French Schools, it is said that long-headed children surpass the broad-headed. Those who tie their faith to the long-headed point out that the world owes more to the Englishman, the Scotchman, and the Norman, than to the Celt, the Roman or the Slav, and that it would merely stagnate were the Northern long-head to be nipped and checked in his development, for the main source of originality, of genius, or inventiveness, and of the spirit of adventure would be dried up. Other French authorities put in a plea for the broad-heads, and hint that their day is coming and that their 'patient industry and domestic affection will be crowned with peace and plenty, with equality and fraternity.' (Beddoe, p. 187).

Negro) races, in which our own contribution forms a rapidly lessening proportion. Even in New England, the original English Puritan strain has ceased to be really predominant, except in the country districts, and even there it is by no means holding its own. During the past forty years the immigration of foreign elements has altogether altered the character of the population of that region. In Boston, the capital of New England, and the centre of Puritan culture, 78 per cent. of the inhabitants are now of foreign birth. During a recent visit to that city on the part of the writer, he was told by a leading Bostonian in one of the residential suburbs that of thirteen people who rendered domestic service of some kind to his family, there was only one of English, and one of "Yankee" or native American birth; among the rest there was a Swede, a Chinaman, an Italian, a Pole, an Albanian, a Greek, a Portuguese, an Austrian Jew, a German Jew, and an Irishman! It is also a fact that the foreign-born elements in the population breed at a much faster rate than either the Yankee or the English sections, among whom the vice of race-suicide is rapidly extending, and small families are the rule. So far as New England is concerned, the type of culture has not as yet been definitely affected, but it cannot permanently hold out against the flood of alien immigrants that keep pouring in from the Old World. As we go westwards this permeation of the original stock goes on at an ever-increasing rate, so that the composite character of the people is becoming more and more pronounced. The American nation is rapidly becoming an amalgam of many human types. This interfusion is being interfered with for the time being by the tendency of immigrants to form local colonies of their own in all the great cities, and

to intermarry among themselves; but the rapid and ceaseless movement of the population must in a few generations result in a much more thorough intermixture of race elements. In fact we see in the United States the making not only of a nation, but of a new and cosmopolitan type of humanity, with its distinctive facial characteristics, its peculiar temperament, its social habits, its political ideals, its spiritual culture. From the racial point of view this process is going on at a rate unparalleled in history; a "law of acceleration" is at work, in which racial prejudices, largely insurmountable in the Old World, are visibly melting away, mainly owing to the great facilities of travel, and the freer atmosphere of social and political life. How far this process will end in the creation of a higher type of man has yet to be seen; the experiment is one of enthralling interest, and may in the course of time have an immense reactive influence on the European civilisations which have so copiously contributed to the issue.

Some final questions arise here—what will be the physical character of this future Man? Will he be long- or short-headed? And what will be his psychological features?

These are not easy questions to answer. It largely depends on whether the aggressive and military type will be dominant, or the more peaceful Alpine. Beddoe[1] thinks that "Mediterranean Man has had his day," and is destined to be swamped by the more fruitful Alpine stock. The Spaniard was evidently exhausted by his conquest of South America and the Indies, and he has since been stagnant, though there are recent signs of his capacity for racial revival. North America is being busily colonised (as is

[1] *Anthropological History of Europe*, p. 183.

Australia) by the Anglo-Saxon and the Teuton strain, but as we have seen this is being rapidly overtaken and threatened by hordes of miscellaneous immigrants from eastern and south-eastern Europe. Over against this fact must be put the alleged tendency towards a lengthening skull among the progeny of the immigrant class in America, which suggests (if true) that environment, when sufficiently potent, has profound influence on racial characteristics, and that the conditions of American civilisation will favour the Nordic type of humanity. One thing is certain, at least—that the Jew is destined to have a large share in the civilisation of the future, for he is multiplying at a steady rate, and he everywhere tends to become socially dominant owing to his genius for money-making—and "wealth is power," especially in the New World. There are, however, two types of Jew—a finer (long-headed), the *Sephardim*, and a broader-headed, coarser type, marked by less estimable qualities, the *Askenazim*—who in the old countries are the denizens of the Ghetto and the slum. Nearly all the great Jews, who have benefited their own or any other race, belong to the former class. It is likely that this class will at least hold their own, and produce a full quota to the leaders of their race in future. Whether the Jew will continue to take his place in the economy of the coming world depends greatly on whether he will continue to maintain his distinctive religious and social habits, for when these are given up, he speedily loses his identity by intermarriage with other races, with the result that he is swamped and lost in the general stream of humanity with which he has been rash enough to intermingle his blood. This is a serious matter, not only for the Jew, but for every nation in which he is found; for it means that he can persist only so long

as he remains an alien in race and in religion from his fellow-men. So long as he is in a small minority this will not be an imminent danger; but it might easily become a peril of unknown magnitude if the Jewish race became really dominant in any community. The recrudescence of Judaism on a continental scale would be a throw-back in progress almost as great as would be the triumph of Mohammedanism.

Meanwhile the Anglo-Saxon type of culture continues to prevail on the other side, though increasingly modified by its environment and by the influx of alien blood and traditions. Judging by present indications, the resulting temperament of the American is marked by energy and executive force rather than by intellectual depth, except in the direction of inventiveness and skill in contriving fresh ways of controlling the natural forces in the service of man. This is, however, but natural under the circumstances, for the White Man in America has from the beginning been engaged in conquering his environment, and the nature of that environment is such that it draws on his utmost resources, while at the same time promising an abundant reward for his pains. This feature has always marked a new race or nation in its earlier stage of evolution, the difference in this case being that it is nature, rather than his fellow-man, that had to be subdued; for, except in the earliest stages, and at one great crisis in American civilisation, there has been little call for fighting; and though even that nation was ultimately drawn into the vortex of the great World-war, its ultimate resources whether of blood or treasure were not taxed to the full, as was the case with all the other nations engaged. The question is still to be solved whether the result of the mixture of races and cultures that is going on in the West will

be the emergence of a distinctive and higher type of man than has yet been seen on earth or whether it will be a lower type resulting from a process of *panmixia* (which tends to produce a lower rather than a higher). That will be for the American people to determine along the lines of a scientific system of Eugenic breeding —a subject which is already interesting some of its leading scientists. We shall return to this subject later on in our argument.

CHAPTER III

HISTORIC DAWNS

THERE can thus be no longer any doubt that physical conditions, if they do not determine Man's earthly fate, have an enormous, though a diminishing, influence on human welfare, and on opportunities for culture, expansion, empire and progress. Man "finds" himself in the process of mastering his environment; and only in those regions where there was an adequate chance of ultimate victory was he found capable, especially in the earlier stages of his career, of attaining something like his possibilities. It was because these conditions were found round the Mediterranean Sea at a criticial period in his racial career that he has been able to develop that dominating type of culture which led to the dawning world-civilisation of the present day.

I

The physical features of the land round the Mediterranean Sea have been picturesquely described thus by Professor Myres in a passage so pregnant and complete that we venture to quote it in full :—

"Looked at upon a terrestrial globe, the north-west

quadrant of the mass of land which we call the Old World presents the general appearance of a series of flat slabs, bounded to the north-west by a few rugged hummocks of weather-beaten highlands, and intersected also by a tangled skein of mountain folds, part of a planetary wrinkle which runs so continuously from the Pyrenees to the Hindu Kush, and then forks apart to the Malay Peninsula on the one hand, and Behring Strait and the Rockies on the other. This section of the planetary ridge runs in general from west to east, between the Pyrenees and Ararat, and then swerves apart to enclose the large tableland of Persia, between the Caspian and the Indian Ocean.

"Most of the slabs above mentioned lie nearly level, and not far above the surface of the ocean. The plains of North Germany and Russia, of Siberia again beyond the Urals, and of Saharan Africa, are obvious examples. A few are gently tilted, like a badly-laid pavement, with one edge in the air and the opposite one under water: the best instance of this is Arabia, with its abrupt western precipices overhanging the Jordan Valley and Red Sea, and its long eastward descent into the Persian Gulf and the mud-flats round its head: over which in turn towers the steep and crumpled edge of the next eastward plateau. Yet other examples are the westward slope which is bisected by the valley of the Nile, and dips from the Red Sea to the Oases, till the Fayum is below the level of the ocean; the shelving northern margin of the Caspian, also below sea level; and the African shore of the Mediterranean between Tunis and Cyrene. Yet other slabs, again, of smaller extent, enclosed within the folded ridges, have been left almost at sea-level, like the Hungarian plain; or have been uplifted with them, like the tablelands of Spain,

Asia Minor, and Persia; or, finally, have been let down below water-level altogether, and form inland seas, like the southern end of the Caspian, the Black Sea, or the chain of similar depressions which form the Mediterranean basin. Thrice, indeed, parts of the Mountain Zone itself have been let down similarly, and partly submerged; at the West end of the Atlas range where it is all but continuous at Gibraltar with south-eastern Spain, and this with the Balearic islands; at its eastern end, where the short promontories on either hand of Tunis and Old Carthage are prolonged through Sicily and the South Italian highlands to meet the Apennines; and once again, and more abruptly still, where nearly the whole width of the mountain zone between the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor, is waterlogged to form the Aegean Sea, with its archipelago of half-drowned island-peaks. Here Crete, for example, rises at most 8,000 feet above the sea-level; and the sea floor between it and the Cycladic islands sinks quite as far below it. Further north, the depression is less; the Greek Olympus exceeds 10,000 feet, while the Thracian Sea hardly reaches 5,000 feet; and the other Olympus, in north-west Asia Minor, at 7,000, looks down on barely 600 feet of water in the Sea of Marmora"[1]

So much for the physiognomy of the theatre where civilisation wrought out its drama. The next important feature of the Mediterranean basin is its distinctive *climate*. This is determined by its position as an inland sea, in close proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, with its warm currents and its periodic winds, the effects of which are carried far inwards, so as to provide a climate relatively warm in summer and mild in winter over a wide area of land. This land,

[1] *The Dawn of History*, pp. 32-5.

while it demands a considerable amount of labour for its successful cultivation, at the same time rewards that labour with more or less abundant harvests of corn and fruit. The comparative easiness of life in the more favourable parts of this region has been of great importance for its history.

The true Mediterranean type of climate is modified towards the north by the high belt of mountains stretching from the western shore of Europe right across the continent into Asia, thus dividing the shore-line from the regions beyond and isolating for long generations the coast-populations from the inroads of the inland-populations. These mountains, running up here and there to the height of 16,000 feet, create belts of varied weather ranging from the sub-tropical area of the south coast to a region of perpetual ice and snow. On their northern slopes, they fall away into "grass-lands" and forests, stretching away eastwards into Asia in the form of more or less fruitful "steppes," and north and north-eastward, beyond the slopes and plains of Germany and Siberia and the mountains of Scandinavia, into the "tundra" or treeless regions, where vegetation gradually ceases owing to the severity of the cold and the absence of rain, making human habitation more and more difficult, till at last it becomes impossible.

Leaving aside the conditions of life on the eastern and southern seaboards of the Mediterranean for the moment, it is clear that the varied conditions in Europe and Asia Minor as the chief centre of the civilisation which has come down to us, have had a profound influence on the character of the peoples that have inhabited it from time to time, and on the successive migrations which have periodically swept across the continent from the south and the east.

Europe, indeed, presents physical characteristics, which, while on the whole favourable to human life challenge human effort in its most varied forms, tax its resources to the utmost, and call forth the full exercise of those faculties which have been most useful for the purposes of civilised life. In the course of time another element no less important emerged in the growing clash of the various races, who became more and more numerous as they mastered the conditions of a comfortable and stable life, and fared forth, seeking more elbow-room, or, envying the better conditions of their neighbours, fell upon them unawares. Thus began that series of wars and struggles for supremacy, which, if we are to-day accustomed to look upon them as a sign of depravity, fulfilled at least this function in earlier times, that they made room for the predominance of the more virile types, and quickened their instinct for social improvement, their gift for government, and the general resourcefulness of their minds. Intermingled with the clash of war came the relationships of trade, the amenities of travel, the spread of a common literature, and the enrichment of international intercourse, which ended in the pooling of many distinctive types of communal life into a common storehouse of general culture. Thus, after long centuries, during which the centre of culture moved steadily westward on the whole, arose the complex type of civilisation which we now enjoy.

II

The first great civilisations were, however, not those matured immediately round the Mediterranean. Before the *sea*-stage, there was a *river*-stage, the

centres of which were found in the great river-valleys of Egypt and Babylonia—" detached, riparian, essentially agricultural civilisations," in intermittent touch with each other along the narrow " landbridge " of hill country skirting the eastern seaboard of the inland sea through Syria and Palestine. Though both countries lived in more or less perpetual liability to inroads from the mountain-folk, or the men of the desert—the Bedouin Arab—their isolation was part of their undoing, for it would seem to be a law of human nature that men and nations ultimately decay unless they come into fresh contact with others of different type. Their fate usually is to grow weak and corrupt, either through too long a lease of power, or too easy a conquest over their environment; they then become a ready prey to " younger " and more vigorous types, which covet their lands and possessions, and generally prove irresistible in attack.

Let us first take a cursory glance at *Egypt*—the *earliest home of historic culture*. This country is divided into two sharply distinct parts; first the northern Delta, about 150 miles wide at its extreme base, tapering to a point about a hundred miles inland, where the Nile divides on its journey to the sea; and secondly, the Valley region, stretching back six hundred miles southwards, a narrow strip of alluvial land rapidly merging on either side into the desert, entirely rainless, and therefore depending on the annual flooding of the Nile for its irrigation and fruitfulness. Along this strip of country there were people living from prehistoric times, who developed a characteristic form of culture of a high type. This endured for many centuries of varying fortunes, and gave rise to a distinctive form of art, government, and

literature. This was made possible because of the fairly easy conditions of life along the river banks, which provided that modicum of comparative wealth and leisure without which no great achievement in either art or government or literature is possible. Our first glimpse of the people is of settlements in large villages on either bank, trading with each other and with other communities up and down the stream, partly pastoral and partly hunting in character. There are indications not only of navigation up and down the river, which was done in large boats " with high deck houses, many oars and regular standards, the emblems of their tribes," but also of intercourse with the men of the oases further west, and with the tribes on the Sinai peninsula beyond the Red Sea. This varied intercourse with many kinds of men may have had some influence on the early development of Egyptian culture. That it included some acquaintance with the other types of early civilisation—notably the Babylonian—is clear from the use of the cylindrical seals characteristic of that country before the distinctive " scarab " seal of Egypt came in with the Fifth Dynasty ; from the worship of deities revealed in the sun and the sky ; and from certain burial customs in both regions suggestive of the same contact. Quite recent authorities, however, incline to the belief that the priority of Egyptian civilisation stands more firmly established then ever.

The true unity of Egypt was made possible by the reclamation of the Nile Valley through the building of a system of canal-irrigation which made the people down-stream dependent on those living higher up, and by the invention of a system of pictorial writing by which royal commands were transmitted to the far-distant sections of the community ; here we have the

beginning of letters. The centralisation of government followed the essential and friendly co-operation of the scattered centres of population; for all being dependent on the beneficent stream which was the condition of life, all were forced to work in some kind of harmony. When by a series of conquests the form of control grew into an absolute monarchy, this unity became an accomplished fact, first in the Upper Valley with its court at Abydos, and then, when the "Two Lands" were brought under the same power, at Memphis, the point where the Delta and the Valley join. This brought Egypt within the true historic period, during which it developed a civilisation peculiarly ripe and complicated, with a powerful government, a rich literature, a highly evolved form of religion, at least one brief phase of which was purely Monotheistic, under the royal reformer Ahkenaton (Amenhotep IV, d. 1365 B.C.) who attempted to supersede the indigenous animal-god worship of his predecessors, but whose noble effort was succeeded, after a period of profound disturbance, by a long recrudescence of the old popular beliefs. During the troubled later history of the country, the old civilisation gradually lost its prestige, and went down under the impact of successive attacks from outside, first from the direction of Nubia, then of Assyria, and finally of Alexander the Great, during which disturbance the key to the ancient literature was lost for long ages, to be recovered only within living memory.

The *second type of river-civilisation was found along the banks of the Euphrates*, in the rich alluvial region now called Mesopotamia between that great river and the Tigris. Here the conditions were very different. Instead of a long narrow valley we have a wide alluvial plain, open on all sides, bounded only

by the two rivers, the silt and alluvium of which form the soil of the region. The whole of this vast Delta was intersected from early times by numerous irrigation-canals. The physical prosperity of the land was dependent like that of Egypt on the annual flooding of the rivers, the natural rainfall being totally insufficient to furnish the necessary moisture for the crops; and any failure in the supply of water during periodic spells of drought inevitably caused immense disturbances in the distribution of population, with consequent frequent clashings of peoples. Early traditions tell also of disastrous floods, partly due to the temporary choking and bursting of the upper channels and canals by the copious silt brought down the rapid stream into the delta proper. One of these is probably that referred to in Genesis. The anxieties caused by such alternations of climate may account for the more sombre character of the Babylonian religion as compared with that of Egypt. "In Egyptian religion it is the sun which is the all-beneficent or all-destroying (in due course) chief god, and the 'power behind the throne.' His enemies are powers of dark and cold, not of wet. In Babylonia, and still more in Assyria, which lies closer under the hills, men and the high gods were alike powerless when the storm-demons were out. The first victory of good was the binding of the dragon which broods in dark water; a fit emblem of the creeping silt-shoal which grows till it throttles the canal." [1]

On this theatre, Man was found from the earliest times, though whence he came we know not. He had more in common, physically, with the men of the hills beyond than with the desert-dweller in the south; his speech, too, was of the "agglutinative" type

[1] Myres, *The Dawn of History*, p. 94, 5.

which is found in China and Turkey. It was in the delta, however, rather than the upper valleys that Babylonian civilisation began, and the cross-country canals between the rivers provided an easy means of lateral communication between the various centres of population, which, unlike those of Egypt, were in a large cluster. In the course of time an immense concourse of people grew up on this delta, which was of enormous fertility, providing an inexhaustible supply of food, wool of fine quality, and raw material for many forms of manufactured articles, which were bartered for wine, olive oil, bitumen and stone from the hill country, and for other commodities from the south. A rich and prosperous industrial community was thus developed; and a very complex system of commerce grew up. At its best the social structure of the people was of a high order; a rude but massive type of art was evolved; the walled cities with their fine public buildings and temples were magnificent in size and style of architecture. Writing was done on clay, originally with picture-symbols as in Egypt, later abbreviated into the cuneiform script distinctive of the region; this was used for records, the tabulation of laws, and religious inscriptions, recently deciphered by the ingenuity of archaeologists. From these sources we learn of the tremendous power of the hierarchy in Babylonia; priest-kings ruled the cities with despotic sway; and, judging from the Code of Hammurabi (c. 2100 B.C.), a system of just and equal laws was evolved which, if properly administered, would secure a large measure of justice to the common people. The chief trouble between the city-states arose from the boundary ditches which were liable to be damaged by floods, or to be tampered with in the interests of rival communities; thus, for a man to

"remove his neighbour's landmark" was a serious crime.[1]

The indigenous Babylonian civilisation lasted for long centuries, but it was destined to be disturbed by the coming of "Semite"-Peoples, in successive migrations from Arabia. These tribes were probably driven out by climatic changes which made the desert regions of the south no longer habitable. At least three such migrations have left their mark in history; the first from the south along the routes leading from Arabia Felix to Ur and Eridu; the second from the north from the regions of Accad in the hill country, into which they must have penetrated earlier, and from whence they occupied Elam under Sargon; the third from the region of Lebanon, which is known as the Aramean migration. This was much later, dating about 1300 B.C.

The second of these migrations penetrated as far as Assyria and founded the strong and pitiless empire of that name, which lasted for more than a thousand years, with many vicissitudes in the meantime. Here was founded the worship of the terrible god Asshur. The hard land produced a hard creed; the Assyrians were the Huns of the ancient world, and practised a "real-politik" as ruthless as did Attila in the middle ages, or the Germans of to-day; there was no aggression too fierce, no cruelty too severe for them to practise on their enemies; in warfare and in diplomacy they were equally free from compunction or restraint. They first conquered, then interbred, with the original Khurdish occupants of the land; the modern Kurds are indeed the descendants of this mixture of races, and retain many of the characteristics of their Assyrian ancestors, but without their highly developed civilisa-

[1] Cf. *Deut.* xxvii. 17.

tion. For a time the Assyrians were tributary to the Babylonians, under Hammurabi; but about 2000 B.C. they seem for a time to have asserted their supremacy, after which we hear little of them till they reappear about 1400, when their king formed a marriage alliance with Amenhotep IV of Egypt. In 1275 the Assyrian Empire was strong enough to attack Babylon, which it levelled to the ground, but they soon rebuilt it on a magnificent scale. After a period of decline, a second empire was founded about 950 which fell to pieces about 800; and a third, "the most splendid of all," rose in 745, and reached its climax about 670, coming to a tragic end about 600, when Cyrus the Mede broke like a bolt from the blue out of the uplands of Persia and founded the Median Empire, after which we hear no more of Assyria as a world-power.

There is one characteristic of these two ancient types of civilisation, which must be mentioned ere we pass on. They were both fundamentally religious in basis, especially that of Egypt. Herodotus wrote long ago; "The Egyptians are exceedingly religious or god-fearing—beyond all other men"; and all the discoveries of recent times go to corroborate this statement. As compared with the earlier "civilisations" of the cave and lake-dwelling, this is the most striking feature of Egyptian culture. It is the religious structure of society that held it together, and inspired alike the massive buildings and the artistic objects whose remains still fill us with wonder and awe. So remarkable is this feature, that it has gained for these old-world civilisations the title of "theocracies," "implying the union in their system between the earthly ruler and the powers of the other world, which to these early thinkers was as real—in the same

sense—as their own, and much more populous." [1] This accounts also for the central status and dominating power of the priesthood in these communities. Never was the hierarchy so honoured, or so controlling in its influence on human life, as in the Great River Civilisations in the dawn of history.

III

It is not in our purpose to follow out further the cross-currents of migration and the emergence of minor civilisations which came and went in the wake of these great river-civilisations—the Persian or Median, the Phœnician, the Hittite, the Elamite, and others still more obscure and evanescent, which have left hardly a trace behind them. The point of interest for us is this—why they all so utterly disappeared, instead of merging into a great common civilisation in which their individual contributions might have been conserved, as was the case ultimately with the various streams of culture that rose successively round the great Inland Sea and combined to swell the current of our Western Civilisation—a civilisation which is now dominant, and is destined, apart from some world-shattering calamity, to spread over the earth within a measurable time.

1. *The physical conditions must be credited with some of the responsibility.* The Egyptian people were hemmed in by too narrow a belt of land and separated too widely from fruitful contact with the rest of the world to develop a civilisation that could in any true sense become international. Their manner of

[1] *The Living Past*, by F. S. Marvin, pp. 31, 6. In Egypt it is calculated that the priests at one time owned a third part of the land in the name of the gods.

life suited the geographical situation fairly well while it lasted, but it could neither be transplanted nor repeated elsewhere; and when it came into closer contact with that of other nations, it failed to maintain itself even in its original home. Still, the completeness with which the old Egyptian civilisation decayed and passed away is one of the wonders of history. Without any crushing blow from without, its vitality seems to have slowly waned, till it died of sheer inanity.

The Assyrian and other civilisations in the middle east failed from other causes. These nations were not protected as was the Egyptian by natural barriers, but were open to attack on all sides; and these attacks came from every direction in turn. They were born of war; they rose into temporary power through successful wars; and they went under one after another chiefly because they were exhausted by war. It would seem that no sooner was an empire founded in this wide region and become rich and strong, than it drew forth the envy of some neighbouring people, which, as soon as it was powerful enough, attempted to wrest its sovereignty from it. Sometimes this attempt failed ignominiously; but in the end every one of these empires went under in a welter of blood and destruction. These restless peoples could never leave each other alone in peace and quietness; and each ultimately fell by the same hammer of violence which it had brought down on the head of its predecessor in power. The fate of these peoples is a vivid commentary of the words of our Lord "they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword" (*Matth.* xxvi, 52).

2. To put the matter a little more generally, the relation of Man to his environment may be of three kinds. In the first place, he may find himself in such circumstances that all his efforts only suffice to keep

himself in bare existence. Nature is here the master, Man the slave ; and progress is impossible. Secondly, a kind of balance may be reached and maintained between Man's demands and Nature's response ; he can now not only live, but he has reached a modicum of well-being. In this more or less static condition, peoples may live in comparative contentment for a long time, so long as they are not disturbed from outside ; this was the state of the Egyptians for many centuries. The danger here is to a relaxation of effort and a tendency to social atrophy and decay ; such was their fate. Thirdly, changes may take place either in the quality of the people or in the character of the environment, such as an alteration in the climate (drouth, flood, or more radical disturbances in the distribution of heat and cold) ; or in the attitude of surrounding peoples, calling for migration to better conditions, or for a war of defence or conquest. The first change may be simply the increase of population to a point beyond the capacity of the land to maintain it ; or it may be the rise of a number of towering personalities, rousing the whole people to a spirit of enterprise, and flooding them with a new will-to-live. In the first case, migration or conquest was the usual method for ancient peoples to seek release from starvation ; in the second case, the ways in which the new life might express itself depended on the kind of genius exhibited by these favoured individuals ; sometimes it meant the conquest of other peoples, sometimes a new era in art or literature, sometimes a fresh advance in religion ; in any case " history " would be made. For always and everywhere human history means a fresh adjustment of Man's relations with nature or with his fellow-man, or with both. And these reactions must be in the direction of a

larger, fuller and more ethical life if permanent gain is to be the result. But this was just the condition which these ancient peoples failed to fulfil. So far as internal relations went, some of them rose to a true conception of ethical conduct, as is evidenced in the story of Egypt, and in the era when Hammurabi ruled in Babylonia; but not one of them had any sense of moral relations with other peoples, other than were involved in trade and commerce, and occasional friendly alliances, which after all had a self-regarding motive behind them, and were mere "scraps of paper" directly interest conflicted with their honourable observance. There was thus no stability in international relationships in those far-off days; nations lived in constant dread of each other's purposes, and a common civilisation was an impossibility. The restless peoples of western Asia during the dawn of history never enjoyed the security of a *Pax Romana* or a *Pax Britannica*. They exhausted themselves and each other by ceaseless anxiety and perpetual struggle, and one by one they went "down to the pit," and sank permanently out of sight. Their relation to the weaker peoples around them was one which never rose higher than one of economic interchange varied by devastating raids which kept them in a state of periodic exhaustion and constant fear. This custom arose among the Arabs, whose immemorial restlessness relieved itself by annual *razzias* or expeditions (still obligatory in Arabia on all men of vigour and spirit) which was transmitted by them on a larger scale to the great empires. Thus no permanent organisation of territorial dominion, and no abiding and mutually beneficent alliance with foreign nations were established by Semitic rulers till late in Assyrian history. The earlier over-lords, i.e. all who preceded Asshurbanipal

of Assyria, went a-raiding to plunder, assault, destroy, or receive submissive payments, and these ends achieved, they returned without imposing permanent garrisons of their own followers, permanent viceroys, or even a permanent tributary burden to hinder the stricken foe from returning to his own ways till his turn should come to be raided again. Early Babylonian and Early Assyrian empires, therefore, meant territorially no more than a geographical area throughout which an emperor could, and did, raid without encountering effective opposition.[1] They thus not only exhausted themselves and each other by a system of perpetual struggle and ceaseless anxiety, but kept the lesser nations in a condition of discouragement, which made it impossible for them to develop a stable civilisation of their own. And so, one and all ultimately went under by a process of exhaustion from which no permanent recovery was possible.

3. The limitations of ethnic religions is further responsible for their failure to progress. We have seen that behind even savage cults there seems to have lurked a kind of implicit Theism; but never has it become the operative doctrine of any ancient religion outside the Old Testament, and that only in the later psalms. Henotheism, or the doctrine of a supreme god among a multitude of lesser divinities, was occasionally approached, and once at least openly preached in Babylonia by its last king, Nabonidus;[2] and we have seen that Ahkenaton's attempt to induce the Egyptians to accept a true Monotheism was a complete failure. Practically the deities of these ancient nations were nature-gods or tribal divinities; when any one nation conquered one or more others,

[1] *The Ancient East*, by D. G. Hogarth, p. 24-6.

[2] Bossuet, *What is Religion?* p. 100.

it took in their gods in its Pantheon, making its own deities supreme. Most of these were deifications of natural processes especially relating to the life-principle. They had no ethical qualities. They justified all the passions of the natural man, giving these free rein under the *aegis* of religion. There was thus in them no principle of moral advance or spiritual aspiration ; under their sway the natural man was at liberty to assert his lower tendencies without check. Here and there, as in some of the Egyptian hymnas, and in these the later Babylonian classics, there are invocations to the high gods that remind one of the penitential psalms of the Bible ; but when all is said, they are few and far between, and stand forth in striking contrast to the actual ideas and customs of the people. We have only to compare them to see "how admirably, and with what originality the genius of the religion of Israel has made use of this rough material furnished from a foreign source," and "whatever traces of monotheistic belief are found are limited to the speculative and fruitless wisdom of priests or to the learned ideas of modern investigators." [1] Truly has Bossuet said of those who compare the Old Testament and Babylonian religions, and speak of the Hebrew prophets as the spiritual pupils of the scholars of Babylonia, that this is to say that the "sculptor stands in a spiritual relation to the quarryman." [2] A religion without moral uplift can only be a hindrance to the development of any people ; and without a religion that uplifts and inspires to a better way of life, there can be no permanent force that makes for progress, in view of the forces that make for the utter degradation of mankind. Nor is

[1] Bousset, op. cit. p. 97, 9

[2] *Ibid.* p. 41.

there any form of religion outside Theism which possesses this uplifting power. And we look in vain for effective Theism outside the line of Hebrew religion which began to shape itself into something like clear form in the later history of the nation, and which found its Yea and Amen in the person and teaching of Jesus Christ. Perhaps full justice has not yet been done to the debt of the Hebrews to their long sojourn of four centuries in Egypt. Breasted contends for the wonderful ethical character of the "Pyramid texts" of the fourth dynasty, which are flooding the subject with light to-day. But it is not easy to say how far these had a permanent effect on the later periods; what seems certain is that the Ten Commandments of the Mosaic code were Egyptian in origin; and it is possible that Moses himself owed something to his knowledge of the Theism of Akhenaton. But when the Egyptians turned away from Akhenaton's teaching, and the Babylonians failed to rise from Henotheism into true Theism, both nations lost their chance of realising a form of religion that would have kept them in the true line of spiritual progress, and so fell into decay and dissolution. It was given to Israel alone to tread the difficult pathway leading to the only form of religion that combined the Divine unity with an absolute system of ethics.

4. It would be unfair to the River-Civilisations if we omitted to mention some of the permanent elements of progress which they contributed to the onward march of humanity. These were, the crude beginnings of mathematical and astronomical Science, the remains of their art, and the gift of writing (this is spite of the fact that the key to their particular forms of script was lost for long ages). To Egypt we owe the rudiments of geometry, to Babylonia the elements

of astronomy; to both the priceless art of expressing thought by means of written symbols. True, we must judge of the geometric genius of the Egyptians more by the practical perfection of his buildings than by his "faculty of theorising." "The planning of such a building as one of the Greater Pyramids, the perfect finish and fitting of each stone, the mechanics of transport and elevation, are clearly an achievement of the highest practical skill, as well as of commanding intellect, however limited the analysis may have been of the principles involved in the work."[1] The Babylonians were better placed for the study of the heavenly bodies on their wide plains, and their temple towers of seven stages marked their reverence for the seven visible planets. If they were the founders of Astrology rather than of Astronomy, they gave us the week of days, the sundial and the clepsydra, and the division of the circle of the heavens into three hundred and sixty days—a number which suggests that they were conscious of the advantage of the duodecimal as well as the decimal system of notation. But their supreme gift was that of alphabetic writing, which after centuries of "complicated and competing signs and scripts," was elaborated about 1000 B.C. The Babylonian cuneiform system spread over a wider area, and became in different forms the property of various nations. The Egyptian script employed at once signs of all stages of their evolution—the picture of the thing, the conventionalised picture as symbol, and the mere letter or distinguishing mark. Both systems reveal their religious origin.[2] Primitive Science everywhere was the child of religion.

[1] Marvin, *The Living Past*, p. 41.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 44, 5.

CHAPTER IV

THE BREAKING DAY

WE now resume our study of human development round the shores of the Mediterranean—the theatre of the central Drama of History in the progressive sense of the word. This is the Second or *Sea-phase* of that Drama, to which the *River-phase* was but a more or less abortive prologue. Here, among the dwellers of the islands of the great Inland Sea and along its shores began that interchange of commodities, intercourse of mind, and gradual diffusion of a common culture, which issued finally in a conception of the habitable world as an *Orbis Terrarum* or circle of nations, linked up by favourable geographical conditions, and enjoying for the first time in the experience of the race, something like a real international community of life and thought.

Three circles of potent human activity rose round this Inland Sea during the millenium immediately preceding the Christian Era, each developing a distinctive but one-sided culture of its own, and each centred in a City-State, which existed for centuries in practical isolation from the others. First *Athens*, the intellectual mother of modern civilisation, where the human intellect first awoke to a sense of its inner resources, and turned its quickened gaze fruitfully on Nature, thus laying down deep and true the foundations

of philosophy and of science. Secondly *Rome*, the earliest organiser of the communal Will of Man on truly fruitful lines, the founder of the first great International State, the creator of a true system of Law and Order as one of the inalienable conditions of human progress. Thirdly *Jerusalem*, the home of the little nation which played so inglorious a part in the politics of the ancient world, but which became the centre of a Faith, from which have flowed the highest and most potent influences that have contributed to the growth of the Soul, and the redemption of Society. These three! Without the intellectual genius of Athens, the organising genius of Rome, the spiritual genius of Jerusalem, what would the world be to-day? And what would it be had they not joined their forces to produce the modern world? Each gave its needful contribution to the sum-total of directive, controlling, inspiring influences which have contributed to the making of modern civilisation, and each without the two others would have been impotent to bring about this result. Not till Grecian intellect had been consecrated by Christian spirituality, and Roman order had been conserved in the far-spreading organisation of the Church, and Christianity had been given its special opportunity and its channel of expansion—first amid recurrent persecutions, later by the sufferance, and finally through the patronage, of the Roman State—and had found in the categories of Grecian philosophy its universal language of appeal to the mind of Man; was there even the semblance of a true World-Civilisation. Even to-day, these three essential elements of culture have not found their final synthesis, but work often in independence and even in antagonism to one another, with disastrous results to human well-being;

and till they do, there will be no complete harmony between life and thought. But it is our hope and faith that humanity will ultimately realise that only as mind, and will, and heart solve their antagonisms, act in complete concord, and become One as the human personality is one, can true progress be realised.

These three! Let us first consider them apart in their origins and their development; then show how in the great Providential movement of History they came into contact and reached such fusion as they have attained.

I

Far back in prehistoric ages, we find the same restless and undefined movements of races and peoples round the Mediterranean shore and across its eastern archipelago as in Northern Africa and Western Asia. There was a period of widespread barbarism in the south Aegean in the latter part of the Neolithic age, during which mankind made little progress till copper was introduced, and with it the art of painting on pottery. Then, in the dim dawn of history, we come across an astonishing fact—that in Crete, during the "Bronze Age," a wonderful civilisation existed, extending from an unknown period down to historic times, whose remains the spade of the excavator has quite recently unearthed. This shows as many as nine clearly defined stages, distinguished by changing styles of pottery and other manufactures, during a time when that island must have been the very centre of Mediterranean culture, and a sea-power of no mean magnitude, in touch at various periods with Egypt, and with the mainland on the European side. This

Minoan civilisation, as it has been called by Sir Arthur Evans (to whom must be accorded the chief credit for its discovery and description), lasted till the tenth century B.C., i.e., till the dawn of the iron age in the Mediterranean, when the conditions that gave it continuity were broken up. Then, with the coming of the Achaeans, " blonde fair-skinned giants and tamers of horses " from the north, and with the siege of Troy, came the beginnings of Grecian history in the proper sense of the word. Two generations later came the Dorians, a mountain-clan from Pindus, the Alpine ridge of Macedon, reinforced by other mountain clans, who made Sparta their camp and swept up to the confines of Attica, where their migration was checked. The indigenous population found a refuge on the shore of Asia Minor, where they formed Ionian Greece, from which ensued a nightmare of race-feuds lasting for several centuries. Greece as we know it was thus the product of an intense fusion of races. The intruders found themselves faced with an immemorial civilisation " bred in the fair surroundings of an Aegean world," and while at first they destroyed more than they were able to enjoy, they were finally more or less assimilated into it, but not before infusing a new life into it by the contribution of their own qualities, traditions, and institutions, and the impact of their own restless virility. It is to this fusion of races and of minds, the Mediterranean and the Alpine, that we owe " the glory that was Greece." [1]

This glory was manifested in three directions—in the organisation of social and political life, in the plastic and dramatic arts, and in the beginnings of literature and philosophy. The city-state of Greece was a unique development of social life, made possible

[1] See Myres, *The Dawn of History*, pp. 189-217.

by the geographical and historical conditions of land and people; and it was itself the condition of that rise of individualism in thought, which in turn made both art and philosophy possible. These conditions were found in their completeness in the city of Athens only, where the Greek genius came to its perfect flower. In the happy freedom enjoyed by its citizens,[1] the human personality for the first time in history could realise itself with something like wholeness, and came to a full harmonious expression. In the plastic art, culminating in the immortal creations of Pheidias; in the dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes; in the eloquence of Pericles and Demosthenes; in the systematic thought of Plato and Aristotle, the Hellenic soul objectified its dreams of beauty, gave utterance to its spiritual problems and yearnings, and made its marvellous contribution to the solution of the mysteries of existence. Many confluent streams, some rising in far-off places, and coursing down long ages of partial attainment, poured their waters into this broad and fertilising river of culture, which has since flowed down the centuries, and which is still unspent. Many volumes have been devoted to the origins, the analysis, the permanent value for humanity of the triumphs of Greek art, thought, life; the deeper we go into the matter the more clearly does the fact shine out that only there in the bosom of the Aegean, and then at the culmination of a long period of racial migration, historic conflict, and intercourse between many lands and peoples, was the miracle of Athens possible. One thing only belongs to the incalculable—the emergence of the

[1] A freedom forsooth purchased at the cost of the enslaved helots, whose unpaid labour made the "large leisure" enjoyed by Athenian citizens possible!

great men whose genius was capable of taking advantage of "the place and time," to gather into their thought the fleeting harvest of past achievements, and transform them in the alembic of their own deep reflection into the unique creations which since have been the wonder and the despair of the ages.

Brilliant as was the social success of the City-State while it lasted; unequalled as were the artistic triumphs of the Greek sculptor and the dramatist; it is to Greek philosophy and science that we must look for the most permanent contribution of that gifted people to the common life of the modern world. In vain we try to recapture their *sense of form*, as expressed in their sculptures and temples, for that secret died with them; but in their *thought* we can still share, for it stands at the head of that long intellectual grapple with the problems of reality which is continuous with our own thought, and is as intense to-day as ever. Other nations in the far east gave themselves with equal energy and devotion to this recurrent task, but they stood in no organic relation to the heritage in which we stand; in *thought* we are the children and heirs not of the Eastern mystics, but of Plato and Aristotle. These great thinkers, standing as they did in the darkening twilight of their own national history,[1] and gathering up the uncertain

[1] "In Greece, as everywhere else, philosophy becomes prominent when the heroic struggle to acquire the conditions of existence has been followed by its enjoyment, the labour for the necessaries of life by the luxury of artistic creation and of thought, necessitated by the attacks to which it has been subjected; in short, when the unquestioned acceptance of life has yielded to reflection" (Erdmann's *Hist. of Philos.*, vol. i, p. 17). Cf. Windelband (*Hist. of Philos.*, p. 2) "The development of Greek philosophy came at the time when the naive religious and ethical consciousness was in process of disintegration." This is what Hegel means when he says "The owl of Minerva flies only by night."

speculations of their Ionic predecessors, were the first systematic thinkers of the world, and gave the form for all subsequent developments of speculative thought. Then began the process of enquiry into the meaning of life, of the soul, of the universe, which is the true subject-matter of that collective wisdom of the ages which is properly called "philosophy"—a process which when once started can nevermore cease, not only because of its absorbing interest and its practical importance for conduct, but because the answers of one age cannot be satisfying to the next, since the problem ever deepens with the deepening of life itself.[1] The history of philosophy is part of the problem of philosophy itself, for thought reacts on life by enriching it with its reflection, just as life reacts on mind by giving it fresh material to think about. Solutions pass, the problem remains, and the mind in dealing with it realises its own resources with ever-increasing zest and mastery. If the idea of personality, so meagrely plumbed in ancient times, is to-day the dominating conception of thought, we none the less owe this to the mighty thinkers who set our feet in the way of its study, and gave us the first weapons with which to conquer its mystery, and realise its

[1] It should be borne in mind that the earliest thinkers of Greece, among whom Thales of Miletus stands supreme, were rather scientists than philosophers in the modern sense—the distinction between the two branches of knowledge being a modern invention. It is to him we must trace the first real advance from description and concrete to abstract thought. As far as is known, he is the first true geometrician. Most of his successors contributed something to his discoveries and speculations, but it was he who started the double process of careful observation of objective fact (science) together with that deeper enquiry into the nature of things now distinguished as the proper sphere of philosophy as such, which came to its perfect flower in ancient times in the writings of Plato and Aristotle—those lords of intellect who ruled all Western thought till late in the Middle Ages.

possibilities. So great is our debt to Greece; so far-reaching has been her influence on our modern outlook on the universe, and on the inner mystery of our own selves. If her own glory was a passing phase of brightness across the darkness which preceded and engulfed her greatness, as it engulfed that of all the ancient peoples, this in no way lessens our gratitude; for while she herself passed away, her thought, her language, and her sense of beauty are still a fadeless inheritance, and "a joy for ever."

II

Italy was centuries behind Greece in her historical evolution; when the latter country was at its climax of intellectual development, Rome was still struggling hard to establish her place in the central peninsula which juts out "like a great pierhead" into the Inland Sea. For this physical conditions again were primarily responsible. In their almost island-home the aboriginal inhabitants remained secluded for long centuries from outside influences, tending their cattle on the slopes of the Apennines, or building their pile-dwellings along the marshy lake-sides of Lombardy. East and west were divided by the mountainous central ridge. The people were scattered in small settlements; commerce was at a minimum; there were no good harbours for the roving sailors of the Aegean to call at, except in the "heel of Italy" and in Sicily, where Grecian settlements grew up in very early times. It was from the north, not the south or east, that Italy was vulnerable to migration; across the Alps and the Apennines came the first incoming hordes of invaders from the plains of Bavaria and

the Upper Danube. How Rome became the central city of the peninsula, and at last the capital of the ancient world, is one of the romances of history. It first emerges dimly as a " city of refuge for ne'er-do-weels " on the Palatine, where they levied blackmail on passers-by ; and how from such rude beginnings it developed into the " City of the Seven Hills, with its Latin language and culture ; its more than Sabellian hardihood ; its Etruscan genius for exploitation, and its inveterate hospitality for ' desirable aliens ' " [1] is told in many a learned page.

If the geographical situation of Italy proved a bar to its earlier development, later on, when the distinctive and central function of Rome was more clearly defined, this became her great opportunity for expansion and empire. Secluded between east and west of the great sea, planted securely on her hills, defended by land and sea from the chances of devastation, Rome gradually made her position impregnable against attack, while the restless temper and warlike genius of her people drove them forth, conquering and to conquer. But greater even than her warlike was her organising gift ; each strip of country she annexed, each tribe or nation she subdued, was swiftly and firmly reduced to order, and in due time made into an integral part of her ever-growing empire ; till at last she had created, out of the scattered peoples round the sea, and far inland in most directions, a well-compacted world-state, into which the nations had brought all their glory and their wealth, whether of " gold, or frankincense, or myrrh." whether of mind, heart, or soul. Her pantheons contained the gods of all her tributary peoples ; her argosies swept every known sea, and brought tribute from the ends of the

[1] Myres, op. cit., p. 236.

then known earth ; her schools of learning welcomed philosophers of every shade of thought and gave them freedom of mind and speech ; and so long as there was no suspicion of disloyalty to the State in their tenets, every variety of religion was tolerated. In this way, and for the first time in history, an adequate opportunity was given to all the individual forms of culture then extant to mingle their currents freely, and contribute their wealth to the common fund ; so that the civilisation of Rome represents on the scale of the Mediterranean a model of that catholicity and inclusiveness which must ultimately characterise the World-civilisation of the future. The British Empire is the best present-day exponent of the tolerant spirit which marked the Roman government towards its vast and infinitely varied dependencies throughout the known world of that early time.

Two great pre-eminent gifts we owe to the Roman people. The first is *the ideal and practice of law as the principle of social order and progress ;* and the second is *the conception of religion as the bond of social well-being.* The first is gathered up in the characteristic Latin word *jus* (the root of " justice," " jurisdiction," " jurisprudence ") and lies back of the more intimate relationships in life gathering round the family idea ; the second in the no less characteristic words *fas* and *nefas* which gather into themselves the notion of what is fitting or unfitting in the region of personal and social conduct. From the same source comes the idea of the *familia,* the Roman equivalent to our English word *home,* and of " social," " society," " socialism," the typical watchwords of the communal sense to-day as they were in a more primitive sense in ancient times. And " religion," the greatest word of

all, is "as characteristically Roman" on its cultural side, as "philosophy" and "mathematics" are Greek. Whether we trace its origin to the root which signifies "going over again," and observing one's duties to the gods, or to the root which means "binding" the individual to something outside himself—in either case "religion" reminds us rather of the Roman who veiled and bowed his head in worship, than of the Greek "who looked up to heaven when he sacrificed."[1] Both lines of thought and activity contributed to that peculiar sense of *duty* in political and communal life, that characterised the Roman citizen at his best, and gave a largeness and dignity to public life which has never, even in the finest peoples of the modern world, been surpassed. It took centuries of internal struggle and external conquest for this conception of "patriotism" to come to its perfect flower, and in later times it was corrupted by many evil influences; none the less it has permanently enriched human life by the historical manifestation of a great public virtue, the need for which will never be outgrown, but which will become more and more necessary for human well-being in proportion as social organisation becomes more complex in form and more difficult in administration. True, Greece laid the foundation of the art of citizenship in the era of City-States; but Rome it was that freed it from its parochial associations, and expanded it on the ample scale of the empire over which she ruled, on the whole, with rough but even-handed justice. In so doing, another result emerged in her *system of law*, which after developing for many centuries under the stress of great events and the ever-widening relationships of men in the growing empire, was

[1] F. S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, p. 94.

codified under the best of the Emperors in the second century, and "constituted in all its bearings the most precious legacy of Rome to mankind." The Institutes of Justinian, in which this law was finally codified, is the basis of every system of law that has been formulated in the modern world, and as a legal basis of social order will perhaps never be surpassed.

Nor, finally, must we forget the debt the modern world owes to Rome for her *engineering* feats. The Romans early became great builders, and their military genius naturally expressed itself predominantly in the form and purpose of their buildings, both offensive and defensive; but for our purpose we need only note two developments which marked a stage in the conquest of Nature by mankind. In the first place, Rome was the first adequately to solve the problem of the supply of water for civil purposes by her system of magnificent *aqueducts*, of which there were nine in the ancient city, three of them being still in use. Thus was met one of the important conditions of settled life, placing the community above the vagaries of the weather and the great evil of long droughts. In the second place, the Romans built great *roads* in all directions from Rome as the centre, thus promoting the habit of travel which lies at the basis of every rich and progressive civilisation. Primarily, these were military in purpose, but they fulfilled greater services in times of peace than in war, for just as to-day "commerce follows the *flag*," in earlier times not only commerce but law, order, literature, culture, and even missionary enterprise, followed the *highway*. We have already spoken of the great roads connecting Egypt and Babylon, etc., and we are told that the Carthaginians took a hand at the earliest efforts at systematic road-building; none the less the Romans were the first

scientific road-makers. The Appian Way, begun by Appius Claudius, B.C. 312, appears to have been the earliest masterpiece of permanent road-work. In its heyday of power the Empire was interlaced from the far east in Persia to distant west in Caledonia and Wales with a magnificent system of radial and interlacing highways, along which the great tides of commercial, social, intellectual and religious life pulsed and re-pulsed to and from the central seat of government and culture,[1] thus binding the whole known world into one, and creating the opportunity for a universal society more or less closely articulated in all its parts. This was the earliest stage of that process of conquering space, and bringing together the ends of the earth which will ultimately find its completion in the conquest of the air as a highway of travel, and through which, more possibly than by any other means, will be achieved that organic unity of mankind which is one of the goals of human progress.

III

For the origins of the third great people that contributed to the making of the modern world, we must go back once more to prehistoric times. The Hebrews were a branch of the Semitic race whose original home seems to have been the Arabian desert which has always been one of the chief reservoirs of mankind. Driven, probably, by recurrent set-backs of drought in the normally fertile oases and hollows of that region, this people migrate several times far and wide with (usually) disastrous effects on the countries which they penetrated. Already far into

[1] Hence the proverb "all roads lead to Rome."

the third millenium B.C. they had got as far as "Ur of the Chaldees," whence a clan moved back south-westwards towards the north-east of Syria, somewhere about the year 2300. The head of this migratory movement, named Abraham, took his clan-family on a roving pastoral expedition, intent on founding a nation of his own, and filled with a religious reforming zeal which had incalculable influences on the future fate of the world. In the course of his wanderings he penetrated as far as Egypt, but returned to Canaan ere he died, and here for a long time his descendants remained in a nomadic state. About the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty there was another migration into Egypt, from which a few centuries later the "tribes" led by Moses returned to Canaan, where they settled down and in time became the Hebrew nation of the Old Testament. This was about the 12th century B.C.

It is not necessary for our purpose to bestow more than a cursory glance at the story of the nation which, because of the unique contribution made by it to the higher life of mankind, has been well called the "Chosen People." Our particular aim will be accomplished by noting a few of its determining features.

1. Once more we begin with the *geographical conditions*. Palestine finds its historic significance mainly in the fact that it provides the highway between the great Mesopotamian Plain and Egypt—over the "landbridge" of the ancient world. From very early times there was more or less continuous traffic along this route between the north-east peoples and those of the south, and in the era of the great empires, it was a kind of Belgium—a buffer-state whose fate it was to be many times downtrodden under the savage heel of wars in which it had little interest of its own, but of which it was the periodic victim. There are

evidences of a prolonged era of native savagery here, from far-off neolithic times; and when the dawn of history begins, we find, in the south-west, the powerful tribe of the Philistines in possession of the coast-route, with other warlike tribes occupying Edom to the south-east. The Phœnicians were already on the north-west, and a rude native population occupied the centre, about whom we know little except that they were "a very belated backwash of the great Canaanite movement" from the Arabian plains, and that the Hebrew leaders were so afraid of any admixture with them that they ordered their complete annihilation. This command was far from fully carried out by their followers, who in after times frequently intermarried with the aborigines, and were consequently in perpetual danger of being dragged down to the level of their polytheism and sensuality.

2. Such was the "Promised Land," and such the environing races, into which the "migration" from Egypt penetrated after the "sojourn in the wilderness" of which we hear so much in the Old Testament. And what of "Israel" as a people? Semitic in race, with a dash of northern Hittite blood, semi-savage in culture, nomadic in habits, pastoral and only by degrees agricultural in occupation—such was the racial stock by whom the stirring story of Hebraism was fashioned. But there was from the beginning of their distinctive annals one remarkable feature by which they were marked out from surrounding peoples—they had the "religious genius" in its most intensive form. Not that their progress in religion was in any way continuous, for their lapses into heathen customs and cults were frequent and painful. According to their spiritual leaders and prophets, they were by nature a faithless

and easily seduced people, ever prone to fall back from each successive height of spiritual attainment, and too loosely articulated in their social structure ever to be welded into a homogeneous and orderly people. For many centuries, the " tribes " of which they were composed held together in the slackest way, and finally, when just about to attain a true nationalism, broke up under Rehoboam into two mutually jealous groups. These failed to maintain themselves under the tremendous impact of the pitiless empires that repeatedly swept down on them and finally carried both into age-long captivities. The political history of the Hebrews was thus inglorious in the extreme ; they stood for little amid the bloody welter of struggle, conquest and degeneracy which is the net result of history during the pre-Christian era in those vast regions that stretch from southern Egypt to the confines of China. Ground down between the upper and the nether millstone of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia on the one side, and of Egypt, and finally of Greece and Rome on the other, they were never allowed to settle down in peace and quietness for any lengthened period, and they could not, therefore, develop anything like a stable civilisation of their own. Tossed like a shuttlecock from one side to another, poured like wine from one vessel of captivity to another, harried and invaded from all sides as the pendulum of empire swung to and fro, they were at last scattered in final dispersal by the Romans under Vespasian and Titus, and ever since they have been homeless and landless, wandering more or less freely hither and thither among the nations of the earth, but never able to call any region of the earth their own.

3. And yet no people has shown such *persistence*

and distinctiveness of racial life as the Hebrews from the time of Abraham to the present day. In what has consisted this remarkable power of resistance? In the characteristic which has just been noted—their religious genius. Beginning as a mere tribal cult, their Faith has held them together by a bond tenacious enough to survive every shock of conquest, every captivity and *diaspora* or scattering. Apart from this, they would never have made a place for themselves at all in the annals of the nations; they would at best have continued for a time, only to disappear like Edom and the Hittites, like Babylon and Assyria, under the restless waves of change, leaving nothing behind them but their incomparable religious literature in the Old Testament. But because they were held in the grip of a great Faith, destined in the providential movement of history to be the prelude to the Faith of faiths, which if religion is to survive at all will be the ultimate faith of the whole world, they have carved for themselves an imperishable place among the greatest of peoples. What is in that Faith which has given it so distinguished a niche in the Temple of Humanity?

The following are the essential points.

(*a*) The Hebrew Faith in the first place contained the germinal creative principle of all genuine religion—*a true covenant relationship between God and Man*[1] embodying mutual responsibilities, giving promise of a great reward for faithfulness, and of certain judgment for unfaithfulness. Whether we hold to the earlier view that Jahve was the native tribal god of these people, or, originally, the god of the Kenites who out of his grace and goodness accepted Israel as his people, this at least is certain, that He was taken to their

[1] See *ante*, pp. 101–3.

bosom as their deity, and that out of this compact arose at last faith in the One true God, Creator of all the earth, and Saviour of those that put their trust in Him. This idea of salvation pervades the relation of Jahve and His people from the beginning. He begins by revealing Himself as the God that brought out His people from Egypt "with a strong and a mighty arm"; He ends by being the Saviour of humanity from Sin, and from the misery caused by sin.

(*b*). The second distinctive feature of the Hebrew religion is the fact that *the historical experience of the people* is the medium of an ever expanding and ever-purifying revelation of the nature and purpose of God in history. The Hebrew prophets, who were the exponents of the national conscience, consistently related their teaching to the experiences and behaviour of the people in the past in their relation to God; and from the facts they drew forth their lessons, and carried forward the revelation from generation to generation. There was thus a principle of development in their faith from the beginning; and the result was an ever-enriching knowledge of the Divine method of training on the one hand, and of the moral consequences of human conduct on the other.

(*c*) The *medium* of this revelation, as we have said, was the *nation itself*. This statement must, however, be qualified to this extent—that the nation at large never gave itself freely and willingly to this function; it was rather the rude material than the voluntary channel of spiritual development. *Hebraism* was never more than the religion of a "remnant" in the proper sense of the word. The prophets, and those who accepted their teachings, never comprised more than an insignificant section of the whole nation, whose frequent failure, no less than their occasional

faithfulness, provided evidence of the truths they expounded, in the light of which they steered their own way through the troubled waters of a stormy experience. For the rest, the majority were willing enough to follow the national cult, and to be religious in the ancient way, but showing abundant attention to the outward forms of religion. But this was not distinctive of Hebraism, for it was common to all peoples; what they were slow to accept was the high marriage between religion and morality, and the spiritual leadership of the prophets in their reading of the lessons of the past, and in their formulation of the national hope for the future. And when the age of the prophets was over, the religion of all but a remnant of the people at large declined into a mere *cultus* or ritual as formulated in popular Judaism, and so fell out of the line of religious advance into a backwater, from which as a race they have never emerged from that day to this. For wonderful as Judaism was and is in its power of persistence, it belongs to the stagnant faiths of the world, fearing nothing more than change, and capable therefore of neither development nor radical reformation.

(*d*) *It was from the prophetic side alone that advance was possible*, and here it came in fullest measure. The Hebrew prophets and the Apocalyptists who followed, were the first religious teachers to apply a spiritual test both to past history and to future hopes. For them God was the great Reality, Source, and Sustainer of all things, the Goal and End of history, who had chosen His people to make known His glory among the nations, and who was to be served not merely by sacrifice and ritual but by holy personal living and by social righteousness. To this high purpose they called the people around them, seeking

to make them the recipients of God's revelation, and the willing instrument for bringing about His Kingdom. Their profound experience of God's presence, purpose, and fellowship is enshrined in the prophetic writings and the psalms of the Old Testament, where we find the literary deposit of their teachings, warnings, invitations, appeals. These contain the earliest attempt at a philosophy of history, and the first faint sketch of the innumerable Utopias in which have crystallised the dreams of the world's greatest seers of the ideal society. Both they and their successors, the Apocalyptists, whose writings, long relegated to the category of merely fantastic visions, but now recognised as coming in the true succession of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel, follow certain consistent principles of thought. Their fundamental doctrine was the conviction that human history was to find its goal and climax in a " day of the Lord " when God would break into the world and establish His ideal kingdom. This implied the *rejection* of certain conceptions of history which have found their advocates in every age ;—the conceptions, that is, which imply (1) that history is a mere chaos of events without any unifying purpose or principle at all, with no Divine thread of purpose running through all the seeming confusion of events ; (2) that history is only the blundering of some demonic force with no care for the children it brings into being ; (3) and that history is a mere school or place of discipline for the education of individual life.[1] They believed and taught with passionate earnestness, that God's Providence rules over all that happens, whether men obey that will or disobey it, and that it is a will to good, and not evil ; that men will come

[1] See an able article by Prof. H. T. Andrews in the *Expositor*, July, 1917, pp. 58-72.

into the benefits of that will, or fail to do so, according to their obedience or disobedience; that no man liveth or dieth to himself, but that, for weal or woe, his fate is interwoven with the fate of his people. The highest wisdom of every man, therefore, is to use his life for those Divine ends which aim at the salvation of society as a whole, finding his own blessedness in the good of his kind. This Meliorist view of life is taught implicitly or explicitly throughout the Bible; in the Old Testament the foundation is laid down clearly in the relation of God to His people, and in the lessons drawn from history; in the New, the teaching is carried through to its highest issues, the older and cruder position being at once fulfilled and transcended.

(*e*) The Hebrew view of life is distinctly anti-individualistic, as we have seen; none the less it was through the historic revelation of God in Old Testament times that *the spiritual value of the individual* was first discovered. At first the moral unit was the nation—a heritage of early tribal life—and the individual had no ethical significance except as his conduct affected the corporate well-being. With the disappointment of the national hopes and the break-up of the social fabric during the Captivities, faith was sorely put to it to retain its grasp on spiritual realities, and on the goodness of God. It is one of the never-to-be-forgotten services rendered by the later prophets to religion that in the darkness which had fallen on the prospects of the Hebrew people as a nation, the vision of *the spiritual significance of the individual soul dawned* upon them, and thus began a new chapter in the history of faith, and in the standards of morality. Jeremiah strikes the note in his doctrine of the new Covenant of God with man as an individual, in place

of that with the nation as a whole—a covenant at once spiritual and redemptive. Ezekiel carries the position a step further, emphasising the direct moral relation of every soul to God. Job strikes a still higher note, dealing with the difficulties raised by the inequalities between the (supposed) deserts of the individual good man and his frequent misfortunes in this life; and in the 73rd psalm the same line of thought begins to glow with the hope of immortality as a way of equating the instabilities of life on earth. This is the high-water mark of Old Testament teaching. In the final revelation through the words and work of Jesus Christ this teaching passes through a spiritual transformation in His doctrine of human Sonship and conscious fellowship with God in the fulfilment of His will and purpose on earth.

CHAPTER V

THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

WE have now roughly traced the path along which the human race has been led from the beginnings of history in the direction of its Providential function on earth. We have restricted our view to the movements of the peoples around the Mediterranean Sea, not because this was the *only*, but because it was the *main*, channel along which the stream of civilisation has moved more or less continuously from the earliest dawn of prehistoric life down to our own day. Other civilisations were developed both in the far East and in the far West, but these do not possess such interest for our purpose. Those of India, and China, and Japan, which stretch back into remote history, have not been without their influence on the Western world, for some of the most potent ideas and customs of the West were infiltrations from the East during various periods of contact.[1] These civilisations however have been of the static rather than the dynamic type, and have been practically stagnant for milleniums, except in so far as they have imbibed Western ideas and customs; while the Mexican and

[1] It is now recognised that many of the ideas at the root of Platonism and Stoicism, not to mention such religious cults as Mithraism, Gnostivism and Manicheeism were of Eastern origin.

the Peruvian in the Far West, which according to recent authorities "seem to have arisen out of the heliolithic sub-civilisation that had drifted across the Pacific from its region round about the Mediterranean,"[1] have altogether perished, without contributing anything permanent to the common stock of human achievement. It is at least certain that whatever may be the future contributions to be made to the world-civilisation now in process of evolution, the determining elements will come from the West, not the East, and it is these determining elements with which we are here concerned.

At the roots of modern civilisation we have found three main factors, which came to their highest development in the achievements of the three most significant peoples whose habitat lay around the great Inland Sea. The intellectual factor arrived at its finest flower in Greece; the social in Rome; the spiritual in Judea and Galilee. But these were developed historically too much in isolation. Greece was too coldly intellectual; Rome was too harshly political; Israel too aridly religious. It is as though the human personality has been trichotomised—mind and heart and will separated into compartments, and each developed singly and in isolation, apart from the corrective and complementary functions of the others. For the harmonious evolution of the whole man these three lines of activity must now be harmonised and brought under one principle of development. This has been the problem of history during the last two milleniums; and it is a problem not yet solved in practice. What we propose here to do is to show that this has been ideally done in Jesus Christ, and that through Him alone will that

[1] See H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*, p. 410.

harmonising process be attained without which human progress will never cease to be a lop-sided and uncertain movement, if indeed it does not give way to degeneracy and ultimate disaster.

I

The Coming of Jesus Christ into the world—What did it mean for the idea of a Providential Order?

His place in history, so far as the West is concerned, is recognised in the fact that, for the Western World, His coming has meant a fresh reckoning of time. All human events have been viewed as falling either before or after His birth, the dividing line between the ancient and modern world.[1] He came "in the fulness of the times," gathering up in Himself all the significance of the past, and initiating an era of new possibilities of happiness and progress for the human race. Secular historians, it is true, have not always given Him this supreme place. The reason is not far to seek. As historians they have been naturally dominated by the actual facts of history rather than by its ideal possibilities; and the facts prove that the true place of Jesus has not yet been given Him by the common consent of mankind. It is indeed comparatively few in every age since He lived who have fully realised His claims, and earnestly endeavoured to embody His ideal in practical conduct.

[1] "There is, perhaps, no better proof of the power of the impression which the personality of *Jesus of Nazareth* had left than the fact that all doctrines of Christianity, however otherwise they might divide philosophically or mythically, are yet at one in seeking in Him the centre of the world's history. By Him the conflict between good and evil, between light and darkness is decided." (Windelband's *Hist. of Philos.*, p. 256).

Nevertheless, it is the influence of Jesus, spreading far beyond the immediate circle of His devoted few, that has been the distinguishing and creative fact in Western civilisation since His day; and if the circle of His real disciples has been comparatively small, and His Church has often been unworthy of His name, their influence has been pervasive and far-reaching—a salt preserving the world from corruption, a quickening leaven spreading far into the lump. If His influence had had might as well as right, the kingdom of God—the ideal society—would long since have come with power, and humanity been far on its way towards perfection, for it would have meant that human providential action would have completely coalesced with the Divine activity and purpose for the world.

Let us glance rapidly at the contribution made by the Gospel of Jesus towards the solution of the Providential problem in its two-fold aspect, Divine and Human. Jesus brought into the world a distinctive revelation of God, Nature, Man, and Destiny.

II

We begin with Jesus' *doctrine of God.*

In His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, Jesus did not bring into the world an entirely novel truth; what He did was to give it a centrality, cogency and persuasiveness it had never possessed before. This He did not by any elaborate proof or even exposition, but by embodying it in His personal attitude and life, and by making it into the regulative principle of all action and duty. It was in His life of Sonship that the Fatherhood was revealed by Jesus. This truth

was the master-light of all His vision; He thought it, He acted it, He lived it—nay, He incarnated it so thoroughly that His most intimate exponent could represent Him as saying in answer to His follower's moving question "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us"[1]—"He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," i.e. not that He was the Father but that the Father through Him had been perfectly revealed. Hitherto, the idea of God in all the great ancient civilisations had been clothed in monarchic associations; it was Jesus who translated the essential attributes of God into the language of the home—the most universal institution of the human race—by revealing His Fatherhood in such a way that it has ever since been the regulative concept of religion. This did not annul the notion of rulership and moral government, for, as the head of the family, the ideal father is also the supreme will of the household; but it clothed it in associations of tenderness and affection, and in outgoings of goodwill and beneficence, which were calculated to arouse a wholehearted moral response, and a loving spiritual obedience and fellowship.

By thus expressing the nature of the ultimate Reality in the Universe in terms of universal human significance, Jesus made religion the central thing in human life, and cleared out of the way a host of degrading and baffling superstitions which had held humanity down from time immemorial. God ceased to be viewed as a far-off entity, unapproachable except through a long line of intermediate beings, whether angelic or demonic, through whom alone He could be approached. An immediate relation was established with Him in which all men of good will

[1] *John* xiv. 8, 9.

could share in their own right as His children. This annulled a great body of inhibiting beliefs—such as witchcrafts, astrological fatalisms, the telling of auguries by means of the flight of birds or the entrails of animals, and such depressing customs, which had obscured the clear moral issues of life, and had spread a dark pall of fear and uncertainty over the human soul from prehistoric times. And by His redemptive work on the Cross, Jesus broke the spell of the darkest power of all—the power of sinful guilt, so "making peace" between God and Man, "reconciling" those willing to receive His Gospel "as dear children" to Him and to each other, and establishing an intimate relationship of fellowship and co-operation with them in all the affairs of life on earth, with an assurance of a more perfect and rewarding fellowship in the world to come. Finally, by His Resurrection the human limitations of the Spirit of Jesus were removed, and through that Spirit He was able to bring the Gospel of the Fatherhood home to the hearts of men down the ages and in all lands where the Gospel has been made known, so that wherever men have been willing in faith to receive it, He is there in grace to bestow it in all its reconciling and emancipating power.

III

Jesus' Doctrine of Man

By establishing the doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God as the regulative conception of ultimate reality, the conception of Man's nature and place in the world is determined. Man is recognised as being no mere product of blind forces—the last

link in a chain of organic beings, a *primus inter pares*—but God's offspring in a sense that cannot be predicated of other creatures, and therefore lifted above Nature while partially within her. If he is one with the brute in his physical appetites and passions, he is one with God in his hunger and thirst after righteousness. If in one aspect he has to take his place on a level with other creatures in the struggle for existence and well-being, in another this struggle is part of a larger discipline for the attainment of the mastery over what is within him as well as what is outside him, in the achievement of moral character. If he is held down by the lower tendencies of his nature, and environed by forces and limitations which hamper his full development, he is still a free ethical being whose business is to react on what is beneath, around and within him in the interests of his spiritual destiny, which is to attain God-likeness through moral struggles and obedience. If his body perishes at death, that is no reason for believing that his essential being perishes likewise. A spiritual significance is thus imported into human experience, and Man's "heredity from God" guarantees his immortality and possible future blessedness in the world to come. Experience is transformed from a mere series of happenings into a world of values, and man's business is to transform the lower values of life into higher and ever higher, till the highest of all are enthroned as the supreme objects of desire. In His human life Jesus manifested this process in its purity, and in so doing has given the standard of character and the norm of conduct for all mankind.

Another feature standing out in the teaching of Jesus concerning the Providential Order has already been touched upon—the stress He everywhere lays on the significance and value of the individual. This is

evident not only from the recurrence of such phrases, "The very hairs of your head are all numbered," but in His unvarying attitude towards men in His public ministry and His private ministrations. He was profoundly interested in the individual men and women around Him. He studied their dispositions, He brought his loving influence to bear on them, He defended them against unjust attack or contempt, He spent Himself on their physical and spiritual welfare. In a sense it may be said that the welfare of individuals absorbed all His care; and it is clear that He did this because He felt profoundly that God's care embraced each one of His children with equal impartiality and intensity. The world for Him was composed not of a vague generalisation called humanity, but of a society of particular men, each of whom had equal significance in the sight of their Heavenly Father, and whose fate was a matter of absorbing interest and importance in His sight. The parables of the Lost Sheep, and of the two Sons, were but an expression of our Lord's passionate longing and ceaseless efforts to reach and save the individual men and women with whom He came in daily contact. This particularity of the love of God for all His children is one of the most moving aspects of the Gospel of Jesus.

The underlying postulate of this doctrine of Man is that in the world as God made it, the Moral Order is the supreme thing. Earthly good (pleasure, riches, success) is made subordinate to heavenly realities and interests. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth," but in being "rich toward God." Men are therefore urged to lay up "treasures in Heaven" (i.e. to make spiritual values supreme) on the ground that these are imperishable,

while all earthly possessions are evanescent; and if lower interests are found to be in conflict with the highest, they are to be unhesitatingly given up in their favour, even at the cost of a mutilated physical life ("if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee"). This is no slur on the physical life, but only an emphatic affirmation of the supreme significance of the moral order, for in the normal course of God's Providence there is ample provision made for the lower needs as well as the higher, and the promise is held forth that through the proper pursuit of the higher as supreme, the lower will come in their train. God's knowledge of our needs carries with it the guarantee that all our needs shall be supplied—an argument based on the thought of Fatherhood, and of the love that Fatherhood implies. Undue anxiety therefore about our physical needs must be sternly repressed as implying a doubt of this fundamental truth, which calls for the fullest faith in the beneficent power of God to meet the needs of His children.

The inference sometimes drawn from the above exposition that the fulness of God's Providential care makes it unnecessary for us to provide for our own wants, in so far as their satisfaction depends on human effort, is entirely contrary to the teaching of Jesus. His programme of conduct leaves the fullest place for Human as well as Divine Providence. He lays frequent stress on the value of prudent forethought both in worldly and spiritual matters—as witness the parables of the Unjust Steward, the Pounds, the Talents, and the Foolish Virgins. The qualities thus inculcated are all required as much for earthly as heavenly prosperity; and they are everywhere held up for admiration and urged on His followers with

perpetual insistence in all the affairs of life. Man can work in God's world with confident cheerfulness that it is built on a foundation of beneficent co-operation on His part with all legitimate personal and social ends.

This is the conception of Man in the Gospel of Jesus, and it flows as a corollary from His doctrine of God as Father. In facing the actual facts of life, however, He found a different situation. Whatever be the dignity of Man as God's child, He found men actually far from recognising and acting on that theory. While here and there He came on a few elect souls whose faces were ever toward the "light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and who were earnestly struggling upwards in the spirit of sonship, He found the vast majority content with a life of ignoble self-indulgence (cf. the Prodigal), or of spiritual pride and arrested development (cf. the Elder Son). The originality of Jesus is seen in nothing more impressively than in His attitude towards these facts. Faithful to His central doctrine, He applied it in a way perfectly adapted to the condition of the world as He found it. From the first class (of elect souls) He chose a group of followers and helpers whom He first made thoroughly His own, that through them He might reach all others in turn. Ever recognising the Divine element in all men, He despised none, He rejected none, but besought all men to come to Him that He might bring them to God as their loving and forgiving Father in Heaven. If in a moment of tension He once said that He had "come not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," that was not because He did not equally love the "righteous," but because He wished to put it beyond cavil that the vilest sinners as well as the respectable classes were

still dear to God as His children, and were therefore worth all that the Divine love could do to bring them back to the true way of life. This irrepressible faith in the salvability of the worst as well as the best men, is the key both to the message of Jesus and to His influence on mankind. No one else before Him had ever dared to believe in such a doctrine, nor did their religious postulates demand that they should do so. He carried His belief to its ultimate conclusion by dying for the salvation of all men irrespective of their moral condition. And since in manifesting this illimitable love for the race, He was also revealing the very heart of God, His work achieves a unique significance and influence. His cross becomes the *Magna Charta* of the soul of Man, proclaiming its imperishable possibilities of redemption from the uttermost depths of depravity and moral ruin.

Nevertheless, Jesus did not proclaim certain salvation for every man nor for every society of men. He believed in and respected too thoroughly the reality and sacredness of human freedom no less than the Divine sovereignty, to do that. God's will for all men was that they should everywhere repent and believe the Gospel. But without the free compliance and obedience of men even God's grace was powerless to help and redeem them from their sins. Jesus thus preached no shallow optimism. While He held that no man in his actual condition was beyond salvation, He recognised the solemn responsibilities of the human will, which is sovereign within the limit of its free choices, and cannot be forced even by the *fiat* of omnipotence into compliance with the saving purpose of God, without its own consent and co-operation. While He rejoiced "with the angels of God" over one sinner that repenteth, He confessed that He had

failed to reach the hearts of many to whom the same offer of succour had been made, and He proclaimed the tragic doom of the city that had rejected Him in words whose pathos have never been equalled.[1] Man's fate, even in the face of the Divine energies of redemption, is still within his own control. God cannot, without denying Himself, recall the sacred gift of freedom, which, once given, is given for ever. Man's greatness is thus seen in his moral ruin—no less than in the heights of holiness which, once in a while, he touches with such uncertain foot. And how great is that ruin is shown in the solemn and final doom which Jesus proclaims on all who wilfully and with open eyes reject the call to accept their God-appointed function of working with Him in realising for themselves and for the world the End for which all things were made—the establishment of a Holy Kingdom of Love.

IV

Jesus' Doctrine of Nature

Nature, according to Jesus, is a system of order, law and beauty, under God's governance, created in the interests of all living beings, and supremely in the physical and spiritual interests of Man as His child. The Creator of the world is no brutal Setebos, making and marring the creatures of His hands in sardonic horseplay or malevolent whimsicality[2]; He is no blind stream of energy or unconscious will, struggling "through all the spires of form" till He accidentally awakens into consciousness in Man, as is suggested in

[1] *Matthew* xxiii. 37-9.

[2] Cf. Browning's ironic poem *Caliban on Setebos*.

modern Pessimism; He is no incarnation of cold and indifferent Deity dwelling aloof in solitary self-absorption; He is no vague Pantheistic spirituality equally expressing itself in the sanctities of virtue, the violence of crime, or the impersonality of law. He is the Universal Father, who has prepared His world as the *scenario* of human life, providing all things meet for the needs of His children in their ascending order of importance, culminating in His own loving fellowship as the highest good of all. As God's handiwork, Nature is *orderly*, and can be depended upon as the instrument of His providential care, therefore an unduly anxious disposition is unworthy of His highest creatures; it is *beneficent and kindly* in its operations, therefore there is no legitimate room for fear or doubt; it is impartial, God's care being equally shown towards all. This impartiality, however, is not to be interpreted as a sign of God's indifference to moral distinctions between one man and another; it is rather a proof of His magnanimity and generous love even towards those who are indifferent or ungrateful or even vicious, and therefore an example for all men to follow in their mutual relations. Man, too, is not the only object of God's beneficent care, for He clothes the lily, feeds the fowls of the air, and shares the fall of the sparrow.[1] The fact of organic suffering does not appear to have presented itself as a problem to Jesus, or at least no saying of His on this matter has been preserved in the Gospels. This indeed is quite a modern problem, and does not seem to have suggested itself to any ancient thinker; and as Jesus spoke always to the time and the occasion, leaving later problems to be dealt with in the light of His general teaching as they

[1] *Matthew* v. 43-46; x, 29.

arose, we are left to the rather uncertain method of inference as to how He would have answered our questions. That He had profound sympathy with all living creatures is clearly enough marked; that He felt any difficulty in co-ordinating the fact of suffering, whether animal or human, with the benevolence of God is equally clear; and that He did not accept the current belief of his time that such calamities as befell the victims of the fall of the tower of Siloam as proofs that they were "sinners above others," is abundantly clear;[1] also that inherited blindness and such disabilities are no proofs of the sinfulness of either parents or offspring. As to the undeserved suffering of good men, or of the poor and downtrodden,[2] He clearly indicates that these dark threads in the warp and woof of human experience are not there by the will of God, but are the result of human selfishness and callousness, which he denounces in no measured terms.[3] And His own reaction to the suffering which He Himself endured from the hatred of wicked man shows that there are spiritual resources at the disposal of all by which these may be woven into a tissue of noble character, and even be transformed into opportunities of service and redemptive love.

Our Lord's view of Nature is thus eminently *genial* as well as lofty, not because He was blind or indifferent to the ills of life, nor because He was unthinking and superficial in His outlook, but because He saw deeper into reality than others, and had so thoroughly grasped the truth of God's loving Fatherhood, and the meaning of His disciplinary methods, that He saw and proclaimed His love everywhere. His delight in the

[1] *Luke* xiii. 4. [2] *John* ix. 3.
[3] *Matthew* 23 (passim).

beauty of the world arose from no mere sensuous pleasure in what He saw, but because it was a revelation of spiritual things, a parable of higher values, a radiant mirror reflecting the beauty of the Divine Nature, of which it was the physical expression. This accounts for His unique gift of representing spiritual facts and laws in imaginative form, as in His wonderful parables. These prose-poems of His, in which He expounds the laws of His kingdom, are artless in their simplicity, yet perfect in their artistry of phrase and imagery. He lived in the Natural world as happily as in the spiritual, for these were to Him not two unrelated spheres of activity, but two aspects of the same supreme and indivisible reality, full of love because so full of truth, and replete with spiritual grace as well as physical loveliness. His serenity and depth of insight into the religious meaning of natural facts and processes, was His because He ever lived in the perfect fellowship of His Father, and so was conversant with all the delicate secrets of His mind and heart. The great poets and seers have risen in moments of inspiration and passion within sight of this secret of peace and power; Jesus alone lived in it as His familiar and constant home. There was thus no room for the smallest trace of dualism in His world-view; God was all and in all, and every stray pathway of thought led straight into the Holy Presence. How to penetrate and live habitually in this central and hallowed place is the supreme desideratum of the soul in its outlook on Nature.

> Two worlds are ours, 'tis sin alone
> Forbids us to descry,
> The mystic Heaven and earth within
> Plain as the earth and sky.

V

Jesus' Doctrine of Destiny

According to Jesus the ideal end of Man and Nature was the establishment of the Kingdom of God "on earth as in Heaven."[1] For Him God is love incarnate, and His will for men is that they should come into conformity with His holy purpose; the Kingdom of God therefore simply means that state of the soul and of society in which this end is freely accepted and realised. The kingdom is both individual and social in its constitution; the individual is the social unit; it is *within* us as well as *among* us; and it must be realised in the heart of each of its members as well as in the fellowship of the whole. This close-knit association of the principle of individual conviction and self-surrender to God's purpose with that of an ideal social order is one of the original contributions of Jesus to the Divine-human ideal of a perfect Society. No social order can be a completely moral order unless it is composed of righteous and loving individual members; no individual can realise his full spiritual possibilities except in the *milieu* of a righteous and beneficent society. Being based on moral principles, it cannot compel anyone to enter its membership; all it can do is to expel those who unworthily intrude

[1] "Christianity found from the beginning the essence of the world-movement in the *experiences of personalities*: for it external Nature was but the theatre for the development of the relation of person to person, and especially of the relation of the finite spirit to the deity. And to this were added as a further determining power, the principle of love, the consciousness of the solidarity of the human race, the deep consciousness of human sinfulness, and the faith in a common redemption." (Windelband, *History of Philosophy*, p. 256).

into its fellowship. Jesus is as emphatic on this principle of self-preservation by exclusion, as He is earnest in the winsome persuasiveness of His invitation for all to come into the fold—a fact which is nowadays in danger of being forgotten. The kingdom is hospitable to all comers, if they will enter in the spirit of filial obedience and brotherly love; but it has no room—except as hopeful recruits—for any others in the happy fellowship of the "elect."

How is this kingdom of God to "come" into being in this world?

Jesus took over the idea of the Kingdom from the ideas and language of His time; but in so doing He completely transformed it by moralising its constitution in harmony with His central conceptions of God, Man, and Nature. It was thus at once removed from the political context, and He sternly refused to allow His Gospel to be neutralised by any association with the forces of revolt and disorder. As we have seen, while giving the central place to the Divine Fatherhood, He emphasised the share of Man as free moral agent. This means that the kingdom can only come *by way of development*, by the gradual assimilation of human wills to the Divine through the long process of history. There is, however, so much of the Apocalyptic (irruptive) conception of the Coming of God's Kingdom in the Gospel narrative, and in some of the discourses of our Lord as reported there, that many have held that Jesus Himself was radically Apocalyptic in His teaching, so much so indeed that being disappointed by the failure of His early hopes of the imminence of the Kingdom, He offered His life as a sacrifice in order to bring it to pass. We cannot here enter into the critical question. Suffice it to say that while our Lord's life and teaching were

perpetuated by followers who were still filled with Apocalyptic hopes, so that in reporting His utterances it is more than possible that His words may have been coloured in their memory by their preconceptions, the fundamentally spiritual character of His determining doctrines precludes the idea that He was ever imprisoned in the Apocalyptic thought of His time. It is certain that vital Christianity came from Jesus Himself, and not from His followers, and it is equally certain that vital Christianity has survived the age-long disappointment of all Apocalyptic hopes from that day to this. "Apocalyptic" is therefore but the historical context of the true Gospel of Jesus, its vital and creative principle being the fusion of the Divine and human wills in the establishment of the ideal society on earth. That is to say, we repeat, the Kingdom of God is essentially an Evolutionary, not an Apocalyptic, conception in the mind of Jesus, as it has been in history.

Apocalyptic, however, enshrined several profoundly helpful truths, which must be taken up into all our ideas concerning the Divine Kingdom. We mention two.

1. It laid due emphasis on the sovereign grace of God in the production of the holy Kingdom. Its conception of grace however was defective, treating it as a kind of compelling power from without, instead of a spiritual energy operating within the soul—God's loving helpfulness inspiring and reinforcing the energies of the human will-to-good. This led to the root-fallacy of all Apocalyptic theories—that the Kingdom would at last be established by Divine *fiat* irrespective of human agency. This is an impossible notion if the Kingdom is the result of the fusion of the free voluntary action of Man with the will of God. "Not

by might nor by power," but "by God's Spirit" can the Kingdom come; and the Spirit of God is the spirit of moral persuasion and of loving appeal, and no other; for "where the spirit of the Lord is, *there is liberty*."

2. The unconquerable "millenial faith" that was in Apocalyptic is another permanent contribution to the faith of Man. That faith is this—that hidden in the relations of God and Man there is an ideal society, and that this will some day be realised. This hope did not begin with Jesus, but it was Jesus who established its essentially moral character, and it was He who first unfolded and made possible the conditions of its practical embodiment. Its basal principles are the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of mankind in Him; its guarantee is the conviction that God is working for it in the Providential Order, and that Man is an essentially moral being; the forces that can alone produce it are the free loving energies of God and Man; the sureness of hope in its final attainment is found in God's loving activity in human affairs and in Man's hopeful moral constitution. If we cannot subscribe to the dogmatic optimism which postulates the mathematical certainty of its advent, but which yet looks forward with a living hope to its ultimate realisation, that is because religion moves in the sphere of faith not of certainty, and because we must be true to our belief in the freedom of man as well as in the Sovereignty of God, His sovereignty being moral not mechanical, and operative in human affairs only through the free co-operation of Man. If thus the coming of the Kingdom is long delayed, that is not because the "Lord tarrieth His coming," but because Man, beginning so far back in the race, has so much leeway to make up, and because

God is patient and magnanimous, and will not hurry the process by forcible interference with the sanctities of human personality. If it has taken a few million years to produce the human body by the infinitely slow process of organic evolution, we must not be impatient with Him if it takes millions more to perfect the human soul. God works on a large canvas of time and space, and He can afford to wait for His finest effects to be produced.

VI

If this conception of the Kingdom of God—the teaching of Jesus concerning the nature of God, Man, and Nature had been accepted as a practical programme of life by the then world, the three streams of historic development round the Inland Sea—that growing-point of progress—would have coalesced into harmonious whole. The "middle-wall of partition" which had so long separated the representatives of Greek philosophy, Roman social culture, and Hebrew religion would have been broken down, and mankind would have entered on a period of unbroken development. This is the dream which St. Paul, interpreting the mind of Jesus in cosmic terms, seems to be envisaging in the Epistle to the Ephesians. But the lovely vision of Jesus fell into a world torn and distracted by age-long antagonisms, and filled with pride and rancour; the pride of power, the pride of intellect, the pride of religious privilege. He had preached "peace to them that were far off and to them that were nigh," "reconciling all in one body by the Cross," a potential reconciliation of men to one another as well as of all to God. His message was carried within a generation

to the confines of the Roman Empire, and fellowships of believers were planted in most of the strategic centres of population. The new Faith began to act as a leaven in the heart of the Empire. But the resistant and alien elements in that civilisation were too strong for the immediate triumph of the lofty ideal of Jesus; and though by the fifth century A.D. the new Faith had nominally ascended the throne of the Cæsars, it was not the Faith as Jesus preached it, but a sorry compromise, of which the core only was truly Christian, while the body was composed of elements as much Pagan as Christian. The Church had begun that alliance with the forces of the world which has more or less hampered the Kingdom of God from that day to this. Many times has it striven to free itself by reformation after reformation, but the Church still drags in its onward march as the instrument and pioneer of the Kingdom of God on earth. The reign of God has not yet been consummated in the human heart; and therefore the Kingdom of Man has not yet been won; for these two go together, and it is a Sysiphean task to attempt to attain to the one unless in co-ordination with the other. During the two thousand years which have elapsed since Jesus was on earth the Sea-phase of civilisation has given way to the Ocean-phase, and this is rapidly passing into World-phase; but His kingdom is still "to come." What has hindered it, and, How shall it at last arrive? These are the questions that remain for us to deal with, and to these the concluding division of this work must be devoted.

BOOK III

THE FUTURE—MAN'S UNFINISHED TASKS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

THERE is one aspect of the organic evolutionary movement, which is also abundantly illustrated in the historic course of human progress, which we have left over to be considered at this point in our argument. It is that the upward movement of life has not been at a steady and uniform rate, but in a more or less hesitant and spasmodic manner, periods of stagnation alternating with periods of more or less rapid advance. This is largely due to the fact that the environment of life is not in a static condition, but is itself in a state of unstability or flux, the changes being sometimes favourable to the interests of life, sometimes otherwise. Possibly the vital principle itself has a periodic quality, and moves in alternating pulses of energy and exhaustion. When the two movements coincide there is naturally a period of rapid progress in the evolution of living organisms, followed by longer or shorter periods of stagnation. The carboniferous period (for instance) seems to have been highly favourable to the multiplication of living creatures, and to rapid organic changes. The oscillatory motion of the earth in relation to the plane

of the ecliptic, involving drastic changes in the climate of various regions of her surface, is responsible for many alternations in the development of the fauna and flora of these regions. This motion has several times since the appearance of life changed the temperature of our northern hemisphere from a state of elemental cold and barrenness, totally unfitted for the sustenance of living beings, to a semi-tropical condition. Just now it is passing through a phase eminently favourable to human life, a fact that accounts for its being the habitat of the most vigorous and progressive races of mankind.

In the historic period other and more complicated factors intervene, and determine the varying rates of progress among races and nations. The emergence of great men, the movements of population, the clash and admixture of races, the conditions governing the rise and fall of civilisations, international rivalries and wars, the influence of the great historic religions, the spread of literature, and many other cultural factors have combined to make human history a tangle of apparently confused movements difficult to evaluate, and the pathway of progress hard to identify. It is clear, however, that there have been flowering-times in the story, as well as times of barrenness and decay; and that viewed as a whole, the advance has been real.

II

During the past few centuries, and notably during the last, Europe has been experiencing one of these periods of swift advance, and this advance has created an entirely fresh situation for the whole human race.

It is due to a sudden efflorescence of physical science which has solved the conquest of natural forces in the service of man. This has altogether changed the conditions of life for mankind, and opened up boundless possibilities of further advance. We are living in a world undreamt of by our forefathers—a new world, a bigger world, a more splendid world, but an infinitely more dangerous world. It has come upon us so suddenly that we do not yet feel at home in it, and are not sure whether we are great enough to handle it worthily. During the modern period, the Western races have solved at least six great world-problems for the solution of which all the previous centuries of man's history were a slow and painful preparation. That preparation lasted possibly for 400,000 years. The solution of these six problems all came to hand within less than two centuries. Let us foreshorten the picture. Let us suppose that a superman had been poring over these problems for a day of 12 hours, and that the solution of these problems had been discovered in a corresponding space of time. This would mean that after eleven hours and 59·7 seconds of study the answer to all six had come to hand almost simultaneously in ·3 seconds! And let us further suppose that each of the six solutions had just as suddenly, sprung upon him six fresh problems each more difficult of solution than their predecessors. This gives us a glimpse into the situation in which the modern world, *mutatis mutandis*, now finds itself. The new problems are more difficult for this reason—that the solved problems were problems of the natural world, which is a world of orderly mechanical forces following undeviating and measurable laws, and which can, therefore, be handled confidently once these laws are discovered; while the new problems

are problems of human nature, which, while partly rational, is complicated by irrational and lawless elements whose action cannot be safely forecasted or outwardly controlled. It is the solution of these problems which constitutes man's share in the Providential order of the near future.

Let us summarise the questions that have been solved, and state in outline the problems that these solutions have bequeathed for further solution, and then proceed to deal with them individually.

1. In the first place, man has solved the problem of *mastering the forces of nature*, and of using them for his own purpose. The problem emerging here is this: How to ethicise the use of these forces, so that they may be made to minister to the well-being of the race, and not its deterioration. *This is the problem of Power.*

2. Secondly, man has solved the problem of the *unlimited creation of wealth*, with all the consequent enlargement and enrichment of his life. The problem bequeathed here is this: How so to create, share out, and use this wealth as to ensure due opportunities of well-being to all members of the community. This is the *Social or Economic Problem.*

3. Man has solved the problem of *conquering distance and of economising time spent in travel and transport*, thus eliminating the historic barriers separating nations. The problem to which this solution leads is: How to create an international or universal code of ethics, so as to *eliminate the causes of international friction*, which have so frequently created wars, and how to solve the conflicting interests of peoples. This is the *Problem of Internationalism.* Under this head must be included the future inter-relationships of the various races of mankind—the

White, Brown, Yellow, Black and Red, who have recently been brought so much closer together than at any previous time—a relationship which will become urgent in many ways in the coming ages.

4. Man has discovered the secret of Birth-control. The problem arising here is how so to use this newly discovered secret as to determine the growth of population and lead to qualitative human breeding. This is the *Problem of Eugenics.*

5. Through the spread of World-intercourse the great religions of the world have been brought into active rivalry and conflict. Thus a final problem arises —the *Fate of Religion, and of religions, in the world of to-morrow.*

Here is an assemblage of problems of the gravest weight and difficulty, some of which are not altogether new, but which are pressing with a new force on humanity, and others which have never had to be faced on any world-scale before, but which will ere long become so insistent that unless they are solved the future of the race will be dark indeed. Let us address ourselves to their consideration. All we can hope to do is to expound their importance, and indicate some of the conditions of their successful solution.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF POWER

I

WE have already pointed out that there are three stages in the relation of man to his environment. In the first, he was largely at its mercy, and able to exist only precariously on the surface of a planet that seemed to him unfriendly and perilous in many ways. In the second, he had come to terms with his surroundings, and was able to multiply and at times grow strong and great, and attain to something like a stable civilisation and culture. In the third, he has more or less mastered the outward conditions of his life, and is able to devote himself to a programme of real progress in individual and communal well-being, and to develop the arts of government, of social development, and of ethical and spiritual advance, untrammelled by physical disabilities.

We have recently entered the third stage in the relation of man to the physical order. He has discovered the fact that rightly used the wasted or pent-up forces of the material world are capable of being harnessed for his own ends, and turned to all kinds of hitherto unsuspected human values. The puny store of energy lodged in his own body is no longer the only source of power at his disposal. Long ago he learned to supplement this by using animals stronger than

himself to do much of his work, and to convey him from place to place faster than his own limbs could carry him. Now man-power and horse-power have suddenly given place to machine-power, with altogether transforming effects on the conditions of human work and life. Science has unlocked the secret ; the chemist, the mechanic and the engineer have turned that secret into practical use. It is untold ages since man discovered the use of metals, but it was but yesterday that he learned to transform the tool into the machine. By so doing he incalculably multiplied the sources of power at his disposal.

Consider some of the miracles of applied Science in the service of man.

1. It has enabled him to *conquer distance and immensely economise the values of time.* It is almost startling to realise that the men who lived in the first quarter of the 19th century could not travel faster than the Pharaoh of the Exodus, i.e., as fast as a horse or a camel could carry them ; now, not only can a train move along the earth's surface at over 100, and a motor-car at nearly 200 miles an hour, a steamship cross the surface of the Atlantic at nearly 40 miles an hour, and a submarine drive through the depths of the sea almost as fast, but an aeroplane has already travelled through the air at a speed of nearer 300 than 200 miles an hour. This means that man has practically conquered distance and brought the ends of the earth together. And we are not yet within sight of the final limit to this speeding-up process ; which economises time almost as wonderfully as it vanquishes space.

2. Again, the *natural limits of the physical senses may have been transcended in a truly wonderful way.* We pass by the extension of man's vision of the sky—the world of the infinitely big—through the telescope,

and into the world of the infinitely little through the microscope; these are old inventions. But think of the extension of sight through solid matter, by means of X-rays, so that the living skeleton can be visualised, and the seat of secret internal diseases located, diagnosed, even photographed; of the extension of hearing through the telephone, which enables us to listen to the voices of the living across leagues of silent space, and through the gramophone, which makes it possible to hear the voices of the dead, as it were, out of the grave itself, and through that latest wonder of the "wireless," which brings the farthest man within reach of conversation almost as though personally present in the same room. This means that the limits and disabilities of our bodily senses are being rapidly transcended, and that the globe itself is being transformed into a gigantic organism for man's use and benefit, providing a huge tympanum for his ear, a larger retina for his eye, and a magic carpet for his feet conveying him swiftly and safely through the air across seas and continents, and to the uttermost parts of the earth.

3. Thirdly, a new world has been opened recently in the *extension of man's control over living* organisms. The domestication of animals as Nature had made and endowed them with useful qualities for man was a discovery of long ago, epoch-making in the history of mankind. Now we can go behind the living creature, animal or vegetable, and handle the very germ-plasm itself, and produce the kind of creatures we want; varying their physical qualities largely at will for our own purposes. The discovery of the laws of heredity by Mendel in the middle of last century has placed a wonderful weapon in man's hand as a breeder of animals and vegetables. As yet we are only at the

beginning of this new power, and the limits of its application are unknown. Already wonderful results have been attained in the qualitative breeding of domestic animals and birds; the naturalist has been able to transform many forms of wild fruit into sweet and nourishing foods for the epicure's table; fresh varieties have even been evolved from the crossing of what had hitherto been deemed distinct species.[1] Even more important from the biological point of view has been the manipulation of the world of minute bio-organisms in the interests of therapeutics, and the consequent mastery of some of the most terrible epidemic diseases that have afflicted humanity. It is impossible at present to set limits to the developments of scientific control over the animal creation, or what new continents of knowledge and control await the exploring insight of the bio-chemist in the near future. We know just enough to realise that there is much more to be discovered, with possibly revolutionary effects on the destiny of the race.

4. The most important practical discovery yet made in its effects on the individual and social life of mankind in relation to the environment has been the *industrial harnessing of the physical forces of Nature*—i.e., *the making of machines to do our work.*

Up to the time of our great grandfathers, human products were manufactured almost entirely by the exercise of individual human muscles aided by quite primitive tools—we can scarcely call them machines—such as the pick, the spade, the saw, the hammer, the spinning wheel and handloom; and the products of

[1] e.g., Mr. Luther Burbank, the American naturalist, by crossing the raspberry and the blackberry has produced the loganberry, and has even transformed the deadly prickly cactus into a nutritious food for man and beast.

labour could only be increased in arithmetical proportion—by adding hand to hand, and man to man. But through the invention of modern machinery the work done formerly with severe expenditure of energy by a hundred workers can now often be done by a single machine in a fraction of the time, and with the loss of scarcely a foot-pound of human energy. The products of human labour are now increased, not, as heretofore, by the addition of man-power to man-power, but by utilising the forces of nature—falling water, steam, electricity, petrol and oil. And there are further accessions of power and wealth still to come. The chemist is busy supplementing the physicist in producing new synthetic substances, such as aniline dyes, alloys of metals for constructive purposes, which altogether alter the properties of the simple metals, and many other compounds of matter never, so far as is known, found in a natural state. If the already adumbrated possibility of "splitting the atom," and so utilising the incalculable forces of the etheric world, which underlies the world of molecular matter, is ever realised, a further revolution, of unknown magnitude, in the conditions of our earthly life will eventuate.

II

Such are some of man's achievements in the mastery of his physical and animate environment, made possible by the magic wand of modern science. The problem bequeathed to us for solution is this: *What manner of use is he going to make of this suddenly acquired power, and of its possible future developments?*

It is easy to take a too optimistic view of this problem.

Modern man is much in the position of an individual, brought up in comparative penury, who has unexpectedly come into possession of a vast fortune. It is clear that such a person would be placed in a position of extreme peril, both for himself and for those around him. He would find himself in control of irresponsible power, with no previous discipline to safeguard him from its abuse. Much of the mischief wrought in human history has been due to a sudden accession of military, political or social power on the part of ambitious men, who have not known what to do with it, the result being usually disastrous to the communities and civilisations thus placed at their mercy. And now a vast accession of such power has been entrusted to the race—or at least to the civilised portion of it—not by slow and imperceptible stages, but suddenly and without any general education in the uses of it. Have we any assurance that this power will be wisely used in the interests of the race as a whole, and not in the selfish interests of those in whose hands it has been so summarily placed ?

It is true that the civilised races of mankind have had a long ethical training, and have had many tragic experiences of the reckless use of power. The ancient civilisations broke down mainly through their failure to meet the perils of prosperity ; and were the conditions of to-day sufficiently similar to those of the past, there would be some ground of hope that we might learn the lessons of past failures. But our modern conditions are totally fresh and unforeseen ; we have had no experience of anything like them before ; both the opportunities and the perils of this unparalleled situation are new to us.

We must remember also that the raw material of human nature is very much the same in every

generation. Men come into the world endowed with a moral sense, but with no moral standards. These are provided for them by the social environment into which they are born. These moral standards are of slow growth and of unstable equilibrium; and they provide no sure guidance for unfamiliar conditions. The new era must develop a new ethic, or rather adapt the old ethic to meet the new conditions. And this, to say the least, has not been found an easy task.

When, for instance, the modern era began, Britain was a country of villages and comparatively small towns, surrounded by great spaces of open country. One of the first results of industrialism was an immense multiplication of population, and its segregation in great centres. Villages rapidly grew into towns, towns into huge cities. This was foreseen by no one; and the consequences are to-day seen in congested unsanitary dwellings, back-to-back houses, and that plague-spot of physical and moral disease—the slum. Thus long before Government, or people, or social enthusiasts realised the situation, or the art of town planning had been thought of, the evil of social overcrowding was upon us; an evil which, once created, is most difficult to remove. If from the beginning the issue could have been clearly envisaged, it would have been comparatively easy to plan and build noble cities with broad streets, open spaces and healthy homes for all. Our town-planning schemes have come a little too late, and the problem of rebuilding our cities in harmony with the needs of the population is proving almost impossible of solution. All that can be done is to ameliorate the trouble as best we may, and prevent its wider spread by exercising better care in future. Many other present-day evils

are due to the same cause. The situation developed so rapidly and in so many unforeseen directions, that human foresight failed to realise and forestall the perils of the new era.

III

But there is a deeper cause than lack of foresight for the more sinister evils of industrialism. It is the *pronouncedly secularistic attitude of the modern world towards the natural order, animate and inanimate.*

We owe this partly to the fact that there is no ethical element in the outlook of science, as such, as the chief source of the new power. Science, it is true, is based fundamentally on a spiritual principle—the faith that nature is inherently orderly and beneficent however indifferent towards human interests she may appear to be to a superficial view. The method of science, however, is to abstract from nature every connotation except those of energy and order. This is a legitimate and necessary limitation of outlook *for the purposes of scientific investigation;* but for an adequate view of nature we must take into consideration many other aspects of her manifold reality—her mystic backgrounds, her artistic quality, her revelation of the Divine creative power, wisdom and goodness. In ancient times the religious significance of Nature was the dominant conception, and though this was barren as a means of mastering her physical secrets, we cannot afford to ignore it if we are to feel ethically and spiritually at home with her. It is not good for the industrialist to follow the scientist too slavishly in looking at the physical order as nothing more than a reservoir of energy which he is free to

draw upon at will, in oblivion of all other considerations. This secularisation of man's relation to Nature is, however, a widespread fact, and has had some serious consequences.

1. *Is not this the reason why, in our modern exploitation of natural forces, we have ruthlessly destroyed nearly all trace of natural beauty* in our industrial areas, and turned what once were noble mountains and lovely valleys into wastes of squalor and ugliness? It is difficult to travel in the Black Country (Shakespeare's Midlands!) or the once beautiful valleys of Glamorgan, or between the scarred precipices of Snowdonia without a sense of sacrilege. Something holy has passed from those regions of beauty since man rudely invaded their dreamy solitudes with his desolating industrial machineries, regardless of the loveliness and grandeur he has thereby destroyed. This desecration of the shrines of nature is made worse by the sheer ugliness of the buildings in which our machineries are housed, by the inartistic conditions under which the working classes of this country have hitherto been forced to work and live, and by the poisoning of the air with the smoke of our chimneys and the waste products of our industries. The physical mischief thus caused has its effects in the lowered vitality and gloomy lives of great masses of people, which largely accounts for their restless and discontented social temper. The Creator has implanted the love of beauty in all men, and has spread a mantle of grace over all the mechanical operations of nature with which, to satisfy it—that nature which, as has been finely said, "sleeps as a picture even while she labours as a machine." To deny anyone the satisfaction of this noble instinct is not only to take away all joy from his work, but to check his spiritual nature

in one of its most sensitive points of contact with the Divine.

2. It is *but a step from the secularisation of nature to the secularisation of man.* For man, too, is a machine, capable of so many foot-pounds of energy, and it is possible to isolate this aspect of human nature and exploit it as a source of industrial power, to the exclusion of every other consideration. This indeed is no new phenomenon in human history, for man has exploited his fellow-man throughout all ages. In ancient times industry was almost universally carried on by slave-labour—an institution which has only recently died out even in the British Empire, and the wage-slavery of the modern world is but one step removed from the older system when the relations of employer and employé are strictly confined to the question of work and wages. There is one aspect of ancient slavery which was even superior to certain phases of modern competitive industry, for it was the slave-owner's interest to see that his slaves were sufficiently well fed and housed to be capable of doing their work, while the modern casual labourer has no such guarantee, the employer undertaking no responsibility in relation to him except to pay so much wage for so much work. This cruel system is now partially remedied in this country by the action of the community itself in providing a bare subsistence-dole during periods of unemployment, but it does not ensure better actual human relations between master and man. It is only through the action of motives drawn from higher sources that the evil can be remedied and men who are perforce joined in the partnership of productive processes be brought to recognise the mutual rights inherent in such a relationship.

3. The third consequence of this secularisation of

nature is *that the business of utilising her free and boundless gift of power has been exploited so disastrously by the money interest.* The basal principle of industry—that it is a form of public service, undertaken with a view to satisfying the physical and social needs of the world of men and women—has been widely forgotten in the fierce competitions, class strifes, and constant friction of modern business life. The result is that our modern industrial system, which should ideally be composed of men and women happily joined in a fellowship of mutual benefit, all contributing their share to the public good, and each reaping the reward of an ever-enriching life, is the centre of constant social tensions and a battleground of conflicting individual interests. We shall deal with this problem at length in the next chapter. Here we are content to point out the fundamental root of the trouble, and to suggest the remedy.

IV

That remedy lies in the correction of the modern, materialistic attitude towards nature as a mere storehouse of physical energy, and to recover the religious temper expressed so finely in the psalmist's words "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein," [1] and which is supremely revealed in the mind and teaching of Jesus on the subject.[2] If the physical and organic world is the fruit of a Divine creative activity and the channel of a cosmic purpose in the fulfilment of which man is a voluntary factor, it follows that this

[1] *Psalm* xxiv. 1.
[2] v. ante pp. 208 ff.

cannot be realised except by recognising that the relationship between him and his environment is an ethical one. For if man is called to the dominion of nature, it is by God that he is called ; and it is only by recognising God's presence in nature that he will fulfil his responsibilities in the subjection of her forces to his will. To use the resources she places under his control for mean and unethical ends is therefore an offence against the constitution of things, as well as a sin against God. The Holy Earth wages war against the man who uses her energies to the detriment of his fellowman, and brings him to judgment sooner or later. We are told in the ancient story that the blood of Abel " cried out to God from the ground " against his murderers[1] ; Cain was cursed "*from the earth* which had opened to receive his brother's blood from his hand." There can be no abuse of the power of man over nature which does not recoil on his own life in some deadly way.

On the other hand, the thought that we are co-operating with the Creator will dignify all labour, and prevent the plea of economic necessity from being put forward as an excuse for inhuman conditions in industry.[2] The stars in their courses fight for the man who consecrates his study of nature, his investigation of her laws, and his mastery of her secrets to the common good. Modern science has done more to prove the fundamental beneficence of the natural order by showing how boundless are the benefits to be gained by obedience to its laws, and a wise use of its provisions, than the apologetic arguments of theologians. Disease has been mastered, epidemics

[1] *Gen.* iv. 10.

[2] See on this subject Prof. J. Y. Simpson, *Landmarks in the Struggle between Science and Religion*, pp. 273 ff.

eradicated, life lengthened and sweetened, toil made easier, the fruitfulness of the earth enriched, and the resources of social well-being incalculably increased. It is man, not nature, that is cruel and unkind. If once we could eradicate selfishness out of the world, and if all material goods were made subservient to the interests of personality and the progress of society, it would be difficult to imagine a better world to live in than this homely earth of ours. All that is needed to realise this end is the spiritualising of our relations with our physical environment. The new Jerusalem must "descend from God out of heaven"; but the stones of her palaces are ready to hand on earth.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

THE second problem solved in the nineteenth century was that of the unlimited creation of material wealth. The problem arising out of the solution is this—How best to produce, distribute, and use such stores of wealth as have been accumulated so as to minister to the highest interests of humanity.

I

Wealth is a vague and ambiguous word. In its inclusive sense it means any common possession, or anything considered of value and that can be communally shared, whether material, mental or spiritual. With that larger problem we are not here specially concerned, supremely important as it undoubtedly is. We must for our purpose restrict ourselves to the economic use of the term, and refer to those material goods and social conditions created by the organised industrial system of modern times, which men desire to possess for the satisfaction of their physical and social wants. Money is the recognised symbol of these good things, and by money we understand any means whereby their

value or price can be standardised with a view of buying and selling them in the markets of the world. Wealth in this special meaning is that which has exchange value.

This restriction is necessary, not because we are satisfied with the definition as a final expression of wealth in higher and nobler sense, but because it was the secret of producing such wealth on an unlimited scale that was solved during the period we are considering, and it is with its personal and social effects that we are here concerned. This period is commonly spoken of as the Industrial Revolution. This is a misleading term, for a revolution is sudden and forcible, while the transformation in human conditions caused by this increase of communal wealth has on the whole been a peaceful evolution. We shall therefore speak of it as the Industrial Era.

The cause of this transforming change was the invention of machinery of a particular kind, e.g., of machinery capable of taking the place of human muscle and skill in the manufacture of commodities needed by people on a large scale. This era began about the middle of the 18th century, when power-machines were invented to take the place of the spinning-wheel and handloom. These, too, were machines, and there were others of a kind which had been used from time immemorial; but these did not so much take the place of human muscle as a source of power, as enable that power to be efficiently utilised—they were tools, that is, rather than machines. Such machines as substituted mechanical power for human energy in the manufacture of goods did not exist on a large scale till the invention of the steam engine about the middle of the 18th century. From that day on there has been a continuous stream of inventions

of ever-increasing power, complexity, and efficiency, using various forms of physical energy—water, steam, gas, oil, and electricity—all taking the place of human exertion in the manufacture or conveyance of goods.

Three results have followed, each in itself an unquestioned human benefit, but each also entailing its own perils and disadvantages.

1. The *first is the release of the worker from the strain and fatigue of being used as a source of physical power.* He is thus able to enjoy his greatly increased leisure as an exhausted man cannot do, and to devote himself after the hours of work to the satisfactions of social life, and, if he so wills, to the development of his own personality in many stimulating ways. On the other hand, the very perfection with which modern automatic machines perform complicated industrial operations tends to eliminate the factor of human skill, and to make the workman little more than a part of the machine which he handles. This is greatly emphasised by the minute subdivision of labour which is an outstanding feature of modern industry. The man whose life-work consists in superintending the repetition of a tiny mechanical process, such as the " making of the sixteenth part of a pin," is in danger of losing all interest in his work except as a means of subsistence, and of finding his very mind mechanised in the process.

2. The second effect of the age of machinery is *a vast increase of productive-power.* The results of purely human labour can only be increased—as already pointed out—by adding man to man, i.e., in arithmetical proportion ; but the results of machine-power increases the result by multiplication—i.e., in geometrical proportion. There are single machines that can do the work of 500 men in a fraction of the

time that would be required by even that number if dependent on their own muscular energy alone. There seems no limit to the increase of the power of machinery, or to the speed at which many machines can be made to run. In addition to those used in manufacturing goods, there are the machines that convey these goods to market, or to their destinations in distant countries. It now matters little to whom we sell our goods; they can be conveyed to him anywhere on earth at a fractional cost.

3. This brings us to the third feature of the industial era—*the multiplication of markets*, and the gradual creation of a world market for the exchange of goods. Commerce is fast becoming universalised, a fact which, while it opens out unbounded possibilities of corporate as well as individual wealth, also creates grave international problems of an economic and political kind. In a sense this is no new fact; in earlier ages also, nations, as financial entities, were liable, like individuals, to consider their own interests first and last; hence many if not most of the historic wars. But the tendency has been greatly accentuated during the past century, and reached its climax—and its Nemesis—in the great war of 1914-18; for that calamity proved nearly suicidal to every nation involved. In the four years of the world-struggle, vast stores of physical wealth, which it had taken centuries to accumulate, were destroyed for ever, and thirty millions of lives were sacrificed. True, out of the tragedy, certain benefits were secured, of no mean value. Certain ancient tyrannies were swept away, our own liberties were preserved, new nations were born. Perhaps the greatest benefit of all was the demonstration that no single nation, or combination of nations, is ever likely in future to be

permitted to become supreme, or to impose its dominance and culture over others. These benefits were bought at too tragic a price, and might, in a better world, have been secured by entirely friendly means.

II

What has been the net result so far of this period of wealth-production ?

It is impossible to indicate by mere figures the colossal accumulations of world-wealth during the last 200 years. It is beyond compute. At one time Britain was the chief workshop of the world ; now every civilised country is fast becoming industrialised. Vast cities have grown up to meet the needs of the constant increase of population ; and in these cities we find enormous aggregations of mills, factories, and machine-shops for the production of goods of every conceivable kind ; buildings for the storage and exchange of the articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury thus produced ; libraries, pictures and precious works of art ; Schools, Colleges and Universities for education ; Churches for worship ; places of amusement and pleasure and social intercourse ; railways with their rolling-stock ; docks with their steamships for the conveyance of passengers and goods to the end of the earth ; and innumerable other forms of wealth for the uses and enjoyment of the community. Behind and beneath all this manufactured wealth lies the habitable land of the earth, the prime condition and source of all manufactured types of wealth. The Industrial Era has not appreciably increased the extent of land, though it

has immeasurably raised its human and economic values by reclamation of waste places, the intensive improvement of its cultivated portions in fruitfulness, and the utilisation of its metallurgic and other substances for new industrial processes. Finally, there is the potential wealth of human energy and faculty, without which material wealth could not have been realised, especially such energy as is exercised in evolving scientific inventions, in organising and managing activities, and in other ways too numerous to mention.

One of the most remarkable results of this multiplication of wealth is the rapid increase of population in the modern world. Till the beginning of the Industrial Era, population was kept rigidly down because of the paucity of means for maintaining any further increase. But the more wealth there is, the more people can be maintained by it—for all material wealth finds its final value in the maintenance and enrichment of human life. Thus, as wealth has increased, population has multiplied, and this multiplication has tended to go on at a rate which threatens to overtake the increase of wealth, especially as modern science has so drastically interfered with the so-called natural checks to population, such as epidemics, floods, droughts, famines, and infantile mortality. This rapid spread of population, aggregated in great cities for the most part, has vastly complicated the problems of modern life.

Such is the second main problem solved in the Industrial Era—the problem of the creation of wealth. We have now to face the problem bequeathed to us as the heritage of this extraordinary advance. It is twofold. There is first, the problem involved in the process of production :—that of the equitable

distribution of wealth among the community; and secondly, the problem of its wise and fruitful enjoyment. These are purely human and ethical problems, and their solution is made difficult because human nature is what it is—a tangle of tumultuous and discordant impulses, of egoistic and social instincts, of a higher and lower nature whose relations have never yet been harmonised. The modern world has suddenly been brought up against this new and unparalleled situation, full of temptations. In a world of ideal men and women, these problems would scarcely exist, or would be easily and firmly solved on a basis of perfect justice. But this is not a world of ideal men and women, but of men and women in all conceivable conditions of moral evolution, stagnation, or degeneracy. Nevertheless it is a world composed entirely of moral beings; and it is on a moral basis that these problems will have to be solved, under penalty of ultimate disaster, if not of common ruin.

III

Before we proceed to consider these problems a preliminary question should be frankly faced.

Is the creation of wealth in the modern sense an advantage, or even of any real value to the higher life of humanity? Has it a vital human function to fulfil? Can it, under any circumstances, minister to the realisation of human personality? Or is it a will-o'-th'-wisp which can only lead the human race ultimately into a morass of disappointment; a mirage, which will only accentuate a thirst which it can never satisfy?

On the one hand, the highest individual virtue and

the fullest realisation of personal excellence has, on the whole been found, not among the very rich, but among the comparatively poor. In the vast majority of cases, the possession of great riches seems to have had a paralysing effect on the higher life of the individual—to de-socialise him towards his fellows, to de-spiritualise him towards his God. History also tells us with no uncertain voice, that in almost every instance, the great civilisations of the past, which throve when comparatively poor, began to decay as soon as they became prosperous and rich, as though there was something in great wealth which saps at the roots of human virtue, so that good government, art, morals and religion cannot be maintained at any high level in a community that is possessed of the unlimited means of luxury. Certain words in the teaching and bearing of Jesus towards the rich of His day seem to many of his followers to suggest that the possession, and still more the urgent pursuit, of riches is incompatible with the realisation of a truly spiritual society; though it must be confessed that the majority of His professed followers in all ages have honoured this part of His teaching rather in the breach than the observance.

On the other hand, it is legitimate to raise this question—are the undoubted individual and social perils of wealth due to wealth as such, or to the fact that so far its proper value and place in life has never been really understood, the laws of its rightful uses and distribution studied and obeyed, its possibilities of ministering to the interests of personality explored and mastered? Has wealth so far, in the history of individuals and of society, been a curse because of what it is in itself, or because of what men and women are? To men who have realised and mastered the

perils of wealth, has not its possession been a blessing and not a curse, enriching their opportunities of personal culture, widening their opportunities of social service, and enabling them to initiate and carry out great projects for the benefit of their fellow-men? And in a reformed society, whose ideals are clean and high, and whose recognised standards of conduct would inhibit the selfish use or social exploitation of wealth, would not its communal possession and wise use immensely enrich the possibilities of such a community in its pursuit and attainment of an ideal social order—an order in which neither disabling poverty nor luxurious individual riches would be permitted to exist, but in which a fair distribution of all communal resources would be wisely safeguarded, and nobly enjoyed? This is the present writer's conviction. For,—

1. It *is impossible, in any case, to reverse the process* which has made the manufacture of material wealth so remarkable a feature of the present industrial era. This process cannot even be kept from further development. For it is the legitimate efflorescence of a perfect natural human function, which has been at work ever since man became man—the desire to control his environment in the interests of his developing personality. From the very beginning of his career man has been striving to master the physical world for his own human ends, and it is in the process of this struggle that he has developed his bodily energies and his mental powers. Now that he has made a sudden leap forward in his mastery of the environment, it is for him to prove that he is fit to rule as well as to conquer. We believe it was for such a time as this that man has slowly won his way through all the tragic experiences of his past career—

has endured the bitter training of primitive hardship, the chequered story of historic achievements and failures, the slow dawning of scientific insight into the laws of nature, and the practical handling of her physical forces. He cannot now refuse, though he may misuse, this sovereignty. At present, it must be confessed, he is not showing any great aptitude for its wise exercise. Is it illegitimate to hope that when he has adjusted himself to his new situation, that he will ultimately graduate in this higher and harder school of privilege, and set about controlling the still undisciplined passions of his own nature, and so make himself fit to share and use what he has so hardly won ?

2. *The possible values of wisely administered social wealth* are clearly seen in the immense advances already realised during the period we are dealing with. The world now supports an immense number of human beings who could not possibly have found subsistence at any previous period. Science has banished from the more favoured countries the fear of recurrent famines, epidemics and other periodic calamities. During the past century innumerable agencies have been developed providing the means of comfort, convenience, and enjoyment for the community as a whole ; sources of happiness formerly the privilege of the few are now within reach of the many ; the means of elementary education have been brought to the door of the poorest, and the opportunities of higher education given to all capable of profiting by them. It is not too much to say, that with all our present-day poverty and social inequalities, life has been made tenfold more interesting for the common people than was the case even two generations ago for any but the favoured rich. So far we have only touched the fringe of the unbounded resources of modern

civilisation for the fuller development of human life; what has been achieved is but an earnest of what will be done when men wake up to the possibilities of well-being, and work together loyally for its attainment.

3. *The perils of wealth are equally obvious.* Since its function is to provide an abundance of outward possessions, mainly material, which appeal to the instincts and sensibilities which we have in common with animals, it tends to absorb all the faculties in the pursuit and enjoyment of these outward things, promote easeful habits of mind, and obscure all higher sources of satisfaction. Darker possibilities also abound. Material wealth multiples opportunities for the pursuit of evil as well as virtue. If it opens out noble careers for the enterprising and the intelligent, it tempts the careless to paths of sensual enjoyment and desolating habits of self-indulgence. It makes possible the exploitation of vicious passions, and creates vested interests whose only aim is to destroy the flower of innocence and to exploit the follies of the weak. More perilous still is the irresponsible power possessed by the rich over the lives of their fellow-men, whose position and fate is so largely under their control. It is this more than all other causes put together which makes the unequal distribution of wealth so galling to the poor, and is at the root of the social unrest and revolutionary movements in modern communities. This is specially manifest in industrial relationships, producing widespread tension and bitterness between the employing and working classes everywhere.

IV

It is clear that this tension is due not to the essential conditions of production, but to a human element

which has created artificial conditions of an abnormal kind.

The necessary factors of wealth-production, as all economists are agreed, are these—land, the primary condition and physical source of all industrial activity; capital, the stored-up result of past work; ability, the source of invention, and of successful management and finance; and labour, or muscle-power, without which all the other factors are sterile, but which can only activate under the direction of ability and with the help of capital. These elements are all equally necessary to any fruitful economic result, but it is chiefly to the operation of *ability* that we owe the characteristic advance in the industrial development of modern times, and more especially to inventive ability.

It is equally clear that the ideal relationship that ought to exist between those representing capital, ability, and labour, is one of close and friendly co-operation. There is no reason whatever in the nature of things why the slightest friction should ever arise between them. None can dispense with the others; without their joint contribution, no wealth can possibly be produced on any large scale. How has it, then, come about that this co-operative spirit, which should accompany the enforced co-ordination of functions fulfilled in modern industry, is almost everywhere conspicuously absent, and that in many occupations there is constant strain and often open warfare between employers and employed?

It is largely due to the concentration of usable capital in the hands of the employing class. This places the capitalist in a position of privilege over the workman, whose livelihood is largely at the disposal of his employer. The consequent lack of security of

employment is undoubtedly the nightmare of the working man, and which fills his view of the future with a haunting and constant anxiety. All over the world he is beginning to ask—"Why should I be in constant dread of unemployment and subsistence, while the shareholders who employ us, and who often contribute no energy or skill of their own to the success of their business, live in comfort and frequently in luxury, caring little whether we live or die?" This grievance is accentuated by the conviction that capital earns too large a share in the profits of industry, which, though contingent and indefinite, are on the whole fairly constant. In addition to the frequently unhealthy conditions of industry, the servile position of the workman has created a new class-consciousness, and the not unreasonable demand is becoming vocal, that since labour is essential to production, the labourer should have some share in the management and control of business. This situation is emphasised by the fact that owing to the complication of modern conditions of industry, the old personal relation between employer and employed has almost entirely disappeared.

This dark picture has some high lights in it. In an increasing number of cases we find industries in which employers and employed work in permanent harmony and good fellowship, and others in which such troubles as arise are quickly solved by wise concessions or just re-arrangements. Many individual employers, and a growing number of capitalist "combines," are genuinely anxious to fulfil their responsibilities in a generous spirit, by giving wages as high as the successful conduct of business permits, by the encouragement of profit-sharing, and by making the conditions of work as healthy and pleasant as possible.

The welfare departments which are being developed in connection with some of the largest industrial enterprises of America, England, and some continental countries are significant indications of a better spirit in the employing classes, and are everywhere rewarded with a corresponding improvement in the spirit of their employés, and in consequently increased production.

These, however, are only ameliorating features of a situation which calls for a more radical cure. That can only come by a profound transformation of relationship and status between "master and man." The servile position of labour must be eliminated, the mutual dependence of all the factors in industry frankly recognised, and the human relationships involved lifted to a higher plane. An ethical reformation on a universal scale, involving a fresh recognition of the dignity and duties of labour, a new reading of the privileges of ownership and management, a higher conscience in the investment of money (which involves the control of human lives), a deeper sense of the moral values of personality—for the realisation of which all social effort should be ideally directed—is the only way of salvation for the modern industrial world. This ethical reformation can be realised only through the practical recognition of the universal brotherhood of mankind, a principle which can only be justified on the basis of the Fatherhood of God. This is only another way of saying that Religion, with its ultimate sanctions, its transforming energies, and its all-compelling motives, holds the key to the industrial problem. When all men recognise that they are members of one another, each needing the other, and all needing what each can contribute to the common good, the tensions and animosities

dividing class from class, and man from man, will die down, and a new era of cheerful mutual trust and co-operative fellowship in the relations of business and industry will dawn on a world which is already tired of the futilities of industrial strife, but is as yet not sufficiently emancipated from that spirit of individual and class selfishness which has so long delayed the social evolution of the race.

V

The same argument applies to the problem of the rightful enjoyment of wealth.

The problem arises out of the fact that whereas modern wealth is an essentially social product, needing the co-operation of an indefinite number of people for its creation, its possession and use is commonly held to be an entirely individual concern. However many may have contributed to the making of his wealth, the average man believes that he is at liberty to dispose of his share of it, whether it be in the form of land, or goods, or money, as he pleases. Whether he saves it, where he invests it, or how he spends it, he considers to be his own affair. He may devote it to the highest philanthropic or religious ends, or spend it on vicious pleasures, or invest it in unholy and anti-social enterprises, or gamble it all away, but so long as he does not involve himself in dishonest action, he is not held to have transgressed his legal responsibilities. Within that limit he can face the world with the question: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" High standards of social conduct in regard to the art of using or spending money are yet to make.

It is not easy to legislate on such matters without interfering unduly with personal liberty, and creating worse evils. Only by the emergence of a public opinion that shall make luxurious living a social offence, and the wise use of wealth a matter of honour, can the evil be sapped at its foundations. The French Revolution at the beginning of the 18th century, and the Russian Revolution at the beginning of the 20th, afford tragic object lessons of the consequences of unbridled luxury when carried out to its limit. If the "possessing classes" fail to read the lessons thus administered, the ultimate issue may lead to a world-revolution on a scale never yet witnessed. Before such a calamity comes about, it is well to promote among rich and poor the realisation of the responsibility of ownership, a recognition of the wastefulness of self-indulgent habits, and the discovery that true happiness is attainable in better ways than by reckless expenditure, especially on anti-social pleasures and luxurious living. Nor would a wider distribution of wealth be a benefit to any community till a higher conception of well-being becomes generally recognised as the ideal for all classes. That ideal has been once for all revealed in the Saviour's words: "A man's wealth consisteth not in the abundance of things he possesseth, but in being rich toward God."

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONALISM

I

AMONG the world-consequences of the solution of the problem of transport during the past century is the fact that the nations of the world have been brought into relations so close and intimate as to revolutionise the whole question of human intercourse, and create an international situation to which history provides no parallel. This *rapprochement* began in the 15th century, with the invention of the mariner's compass and the inception of a new era of sea-travel; but the recent speeding-up of the means of travel through the invention of the steam engine, the motor car and the aeroplane has further transformed this process of international contact, and created fresh international problems of a startling kind.

What is to be the issue of this sudden confusion of nations, tongues and races, in which cultures so diverse, races so dissimilar, nations whose interests seem so mutually antagonistic and irreconcilable, are thus thrown together in uneasy intimate contact, without any training in the art of world-wide intercourse? Humanity has had a long training in the duties of group-fellowship on a scale varying from the primitive family-group to that of great nations; but this super-group, which includes the whole human

race, how are we to face its complexities and its perils?

II

There are three possible alternatives before us.

1. We may dismiss with reasonable confidence the *fear* awakened by the world-war *of a general break-up of modern civilisation.* It is true that no one now shares in the naive faith so widely held during the nineteenth century that humanity has entered on a period of peaceful progress on the way to an era of millenial well-being. The War and the Russian Revolution gave the *coup de grâce* to this belief; but it has already awakened the Western nations to the peril of ignoring the social injustices which might lead to such a catastrophe; and if the danger-point can scarcely be said to be past, remedial agencies are already at work, which, if vigorously pursued, will save the world from a calamity that would reverse the stream of history and lose for us all the harvests of time. We turn therefore to other possible solutious of the problem.

2. The second possibility is the *gradual development of a super-state* which would administer from a common centre of government the affairs of the whole human race.

On a superficial view, such a solution would have its advantages. The world-relations which are fast developing between the peoples of the earth seem to support the desirability of organising these relations on a common basis and for common ends. The present system of national organisation unquestionably checks the proper intercourse of nations and races. The free flow of goods from one country to another and the creation of a world-market are seriously hampered

by the barrier of tariffs and duties set up in the interests of individual nations. It is difficult to realise a truly international science and literature without the medium of a universal language. The militarism which seems unavoidable in order to secure the maintenance of individual States is full of explosive elements, and so long as mutual jealousies and fears divide the peoples, the policy of disarmament seems little better than a counsel of perfection. To the perils of militarism we must add its enormous cost, and that of the many legislative and administrative systems of Government, the integrity of which it exists to defend. Would not the establishment of a cosmopolitian state do away at a stroke with the main causes of war, and relieve the human race from the constant social tensions, the economic wastefulness, the political rivalries, the international unrest, which seem inherent in the present world situation ?

So, at first sight, would it seem to be, and in the far distant future such a system may conceivably be found possible. It must be remembered however that human evolution so far has not been conducted on these lines. History suggests that the human mind is capable of only a certain amount of strain on its resources, and that when a civilisation develops to a certain point of complexity, the community lacks the qualities necessary to carry it on adequately ; nor can the timely production of the superman who would be capable of supplying the necessary leadership for the recurrent crises which occur periodically in the life of great nations be always guaranteed. This is still more true of the moral qualities necessary to maintain social conduct in face of the temptations of increasing luxury and leisure.[1] If this is true of individual

[1] McDougall, *Natural Welfare and National Decay*, pp. 36 ff.

civilisations in the past, have we any indications that humanity has recently evolved qualities that could stand the tension of a world-civilisation whose complexity would be so immeasurably greater ?

A closer study of the psychic qualities of our human nature suggest further difficulties. There are no " universal " instincts. The shaping forces that moulded the race in the period of its early plasticity were all intensely local, and produced beings whose social instincts activate vividly only in concrete and personal relations. The average man loves the place in which he was born, where his friends and kindred are, where the critical experiences of his life were undergone. These family and tribal instincts are elastic enough to expand to the limits of his native land, but his affinities with the race as a whole are still too vague and faint to enable him to enter with any enthusiasm into the idea of a world-society. Emerson did not speak for himself only when he said " If God gave me my choice between the whole earth and my little farm, I would unhesitatingly choose my little farm." It is psychologically true that " men will fight for a red or white rose, but not for the size or colour of the planets." [1]

One of the *most valuable aspects of national life is the individuality and concreteness of its ideals, customs, literature and religious life*, all of which depend for their healthy growth on local and temporal stimulants. Some of the most precious contributions to human art, literature and religion (as we have already seen) have been made by little nations, whose cultural life has been shaped and inspired by quite local historical

[1] A. E. Wiggam, *The New Decalogue of Science*, p. 20. The writer is indebted to Prof. Wiggam for helpful suggestions in the treatment of this subject.

conditions. Would not the vast organisation of a world-state tend to sterilise the opportunities and inspirations which have hitherto given history its *character?* Would it be possible for instance, for such unique developments as Greek Art, Hebrew Religion, the British conception of order and liberty, French literature, the various national types of personal worth, to come to their maturity in the vague environment of a universal society?

It *is impossible to forecast the effect of the vast and complicated machineries of Government in a world-state on the future evolution of the race as a whole.* We have had no experience of such an institution, and cannot possibly guarantee that its superficial advantages would not be more than counterbalanced by evils which might bring confusion and disaster into the world-process as a whole. And while a centralised Government might make any local or national revolt impossible, it would never be safe from a general uprising of the whole race against its tyranny, which would probably lead to a universal anarchy from which the only way of escape would be for history to begin over again.

But the fatal difficulty in the way of founding a world-state has still to be pointed out—how to *get the human race to consent to such a universal scheme of government.* History tells us of only one successful method of absorbing one nation into another. That is by conquest. It was so that the great river and sea civilisations of the near and far East extended their sway, down to Rome, the greatest of them all; and these, one and all, finally broke down, more through internal decay than through external pressure. The Great War is civilised humanity's answer to the latest attempt on the part of any nation to found a world-

state on the basis of its own hegemony, and it was given in no uncertain voice. It is not easy to conceive of any more peaceful way whereby the existing nations, with their highly organised and deeply entrenched prejudices, could be brought to consent to voluntary self-extinction in the interests of a universal social order. The theoretical advantages of such a system are too vague and questionable in face of the actual facts of the situation. The smallest nations would be as stubborn in resisting any attempt to interfere with their autonomy as the greatest.

3. There is therefore no alternative but to fall back on an enlightened Internationalism as the only practical solution of the present confusion of competitive nationalities which is the legacy inherited by the modern era from far distant ages. The present chaotic situation cannot last without ultimate disaster. The time has come for humanity to regard itself in some large and practical sense as a single whole, in which the organic relationships of mankind must be frankly and universally reorganised, and the world be knit in a system of mutual interaction for the good of all, without disturbing the natural development of its constituent social groups. The fundamental question is —how so to resolve the old antagonisms inherited from historical conditions no longer significant, and build up a harmonious society embracing every nation and race ?

III

In dealing with this subject, Prof. McDougall, in his suggestive book on *Ethics and Some World Problems*,[1] points out that the two discordant types of ethics now

[1] Pp. 1–30.

competing for mastery in the world-order must somehow be harmonised if these problems are to be solved. He calls these National Ethics and Universal Ethics.

By National Ethics he means that system of conduct, with its special sanctions and duties, which is concerned with preserving the unity of the tribe, state or nation. By Universal Ethics he means that code of behaviour which, overleaping the boundaries of race, nation, and locality, recognises the claims of humanity as a whole, and links man to man in common bonds of behaviour all over the world. And these, he says, are in conflict everywhere.

The race so far has been evolved within the restricted relationships of the family, the clan, the tribe, the nation; and the duties of men within these circles, though by no means always fulfilled, are fairly clear and well-defined. The savage has his strict code of conduct, not only to his family as a social unit, but also to his tribe as a social group; and the normal civilised man everywhere, with his wider vision, recognises his responsibility to his fellow-citizen and his nation. Within these limits the sanctions of conduct are sharply marked, and due punishment is meted out to offenders and criminals. But there national ethics normally stops; it recognises no moral claims or duties beyond the borders of the group, little or large, within which alone they are operative. In ancient times these limits were practically absolute; they were only modified and enlarged occasionally when alliances were formed between nations, or when smaller tribal groups were federated or enlarged into a larger international group, as e.g., in the Roman Empire. Even in modern times we have had philosophers such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Treitschke in Germany, who have openly limited the sphere of ethics to the national

group, and before the Great War, such a doctrine was preached in that country with apparent conviction. Bernardi in all his books takes up this standpoint ; it was indeed the postulate of the Germanic Science of Real-Politik. There is no other modern nation which has in theory or practice been quite so frank in its limitation of morality within national limits ; but everywhere, naturalistic ethics have tended to such a position. In such a scheme of life patriotism is the supreme and final virtue, than which no higher can be conceived.

Opposed to this limited type of ethical theory stand the Universal types, " each of which," as Prof. McDougall says, " is bound up with a religion that aspires to universal dominion ; each of which therefore claims that its rules of conduct are valid for and binding on all men, and seeks to bring all mankind under the sway of such rules." [1] These religions are Buddhism, Christianity, and " less strictly," Mohammedanism ; while all other religions, including the ethical religions of Judaism, of Japan, of China, and of Brahmanism, normally restrict their outlook to a particular race or nation.

Our particular type of Universal Ethics is the gift of Christianity. The Fatherhood of God (first made a dynamic faith through Jesus Christ) and the universal brotherhood of mankind, was the most revolutionary and creative social ideal ever launched into the world. Jesus broke down the middle wall of partition between man and man, and proclaimed a gospel of love and goodwill co-extensive with humanity. " In Him," as St. Paul expresses it, " there is neither Jew nor Gentile, male or female, bond or free." Stoicism approximated to such an idea in a static and rather helpless way

[1] Op. cit., p. 4.

(cf. " nihil humanum a me alieno puto ") but it was practically ineffective till the Christian Church of the early centuries preached it as an Evangel, and acted on it as a policy. Such a Gospel logically overleaps and undercuts every national and cultural barrier, and proclaims the spiritual equality of men of every race and colour. It is what makes Christianity a missionary religion. " Its parish is the world." It claims every man as a subject of redemption, and aims at an ideal world-society (the " Kingdom of God "), co-terminous with humanity, as its goal.

To put the contrast between these ethical types roughly into a sentence—National Ethics is *the morality of the natural man,* Universal Ethics *the morality of the spiritual man.* And these, so far, have been contrary the one to the other. The motto of the one is the preservation of its own nation and, pre-eminently, of its own group within the nation, beyond which it does not profess to look. The motto of the other is the preservation, or rather, the salvation of the whole race. So far humanity has evolved under the inspiration and within the limits of the group-idea of ethics. The question is—are these two types really mutually exclusive, and radically antagonistic ? Or is there a way of harmonising them ?

IV

The antagonism between these ethical types is parallel with that which exists between the two elements in man's nature—the natural and the spiritual ; and the need for some principle of harmony between them is also just as real. Till the inner struggle is resolved in the experience of the individual,

life is wretched and futile ; and till it is resolved in society, social and political life will be the theatre of those tensions and struggles which have periodically led in the past, and will assuredly lead in the future, to terrible and tragic issues.

More than this may be said. The dualism in our ethical systems is but a mirror of a certain duality in Nature. Friedrich Naumann, " a sincere Christian, and an acknowledged leader of Christian thought," puts the case thus vividly in his *Letters on Religion :*

" We possess a knowledge of the world, which teaches us a God of power and strength, who sends out life and death, as simultaneously as shadow and light; and a revelation, a faith unto salvation, which declares the same to be Father. The following of the world-God produces a morality of the struggle for existence, and the service of the Father of Jesus Christ produces the morality of compassion. And yet they are not two Gods, but one God. Somehow their arms intertwine." [1]

The harmony cannot be attained by denying the cogency of either member of this antithesis, for both belong to the region of facts, and each must have its place. Neither can we give up the struggle for the harmony we seek, for the element of duality to be overcome is not ultimate ; " somewhere their arms intertwine.". Again, as life is dynamic, not static, the harmony cannot be gained *per saltum*, but by a process of adjustment and gradual approximation to a deeper unity in which both will still activate in due measure.

It is encouraging to realise that this process is already at work. The conditions are present for a real movement of reconciliation, and several influences are

[1] Quoted in McDougall, *Ethics and Some World Problems*, p. 25, n.

beginning to co-operate to that end. The ethics of naturalism have had a long innings in the relationships of nations and races; the influences at work are such as tend to give the ethics of Universalism a chance to act on the world-situation.

1. The first is the *ever-increasing intercourse* between far-distant nations, brought about through literature and science, commerce and travel. Wherever human intercourse is carried on, whether on a small scale or a large, there must be moral relations; and where there are moral relations, corresponding codes of conduct must gradually develop; and therefore, where international relations are forced on men, an international morality is bound in time to be evolved.

2. Secondly, *Science is rapidly thinking out the problems* raised by this international intermixture. It is facing the questions of international politics, of world-methods of economic exchange, of race and population, of international law—all in a new spirit and by ever more practical methods. This science of sociology is still in its infancy, but rapid progress is being made in accumulating facts and in discovering the laws of their operation. In the last resort this will place universal ethics on a scientific basis, and the conditions of healthy synthesis between group ethics and universal ethics will be easier to realise.

3. Thirdly, *the Churches in all civilised countries are federating* with a view to extend the spirit of universal goodwill among the peoples of the earth, and to inoculate all races with the sense of spiritual solidarity and brotherhood. We have even had conferences of world-religions for the purpose of getting to common ground, and fostering a better mutual temper. All

this is preparing the ground for the new day, when the two principles of God's Fatherhood and human brotherhood will become the postulates on which all human relations will be built.

4. A practical beginning in the federation of Nations has been made in the institution of the *League of Nations* as the instrument of world peace and goodwill. Already about fifty national groups are enrolled in this unique institution, and an encouraging amount of good international work has been achieved. Several wars have been prevented ; misunderstandings between nations been amiably adjusted ; more or less just boundaries arranged between rival claimants ; the white-slave traffic (a ghastly form of international crime against innocent womanhood) been checked ; and a new type of diplomacy, in which an open frankness has displaced the secret methods and tangled subtleties of the old, been at least experimentally tried. As yet the ultimate success of the League as the recognised instrument of international intercourse on its diplomatic side has not become an assured article of faith ; but it has weathered its early storms, and is steadily growing in power and influence. Since its basis is at least implicitly religious, its future will largely depend on the faithful support and missionary enthusiasm of the Christian churches throughout the world, without whose effective championship it cannot hope to overcome the reactionary forces arrayed against it.

V

Prof. McDougall, however, is emphatic in his criticism of universal ethics as the sole guide of

humanity. He seems to think that it would end logically in cosmopolitanism, and so lead to social and racial evils on a colossal scale. Already he holds that in a mistaken spirit of goodwill it has done much mischief within our own existing order. It has, for instance, developed a humanitarian altruism which has led to much unthinking charity; to a method of poor relief which has discouraged prudential provision for the future on the part of the weaker specimens of the race; to the preservation of weakling infants; to the undue taxation of the fitter members of the State in favour of the less fit; to the partial impoverishment of the middle classes ("hitherto the most valuable, because the most independent, thrifty, and intelligent type of citizens"); to the indiscriminate extension of the franchise, so placing political power in the hands of mere numbers without regard to their intelligence or capacity for good government in the interests of the whole nation; and to the granting of other social privileges without securing guarantees that they will not be selfishly or thoughtlessly misused. Without pausing to ask whether some of these contentions need qualification, it is clear that the indiscriminate granting of social privileges without providing sound safeguards against their abuse always proves a more or less serious evil. This provision in extreme cases must include some element of compulsion, and this is not consistent with the principles of universal ethics as usually understood, but involves an element properly belonging to the sphere of Natural ethics.

But there are other and much wider evils that would follow on the unmodified introduction of Universalist ethics into the world-order. Already we see premonitions of this as a result of the extension of Western

influence over Eastern nations. It is a somewhat paradoxical fact, that there is no region of Western activity which has been more deeply penetrated by the spirit of Universal ethics than the scientific movement, especially in its bearing on the conditions of physical well-being. Within two or three generations it has ameliorated these conditions more than all the efforts of religious philanthropy had achieved through all time. It has resulted in the conquest of epidemic diseases, the lessening of suffering, the lengthening and sweetening of life for all who have come under its beneficent sway; and these benefits have been freely placed at the disposal of humanity at large without any thought of ulterior results. The immediate effect has been an immense increase of population everywhere,[1] with consequent social pressures which have largely neutralised the beneficial effects thus gained. A further result of the consistent application of Universalist ethics (which, in its present form, seems to imply the equality of all men) would be to encourage miscegenation (the free admixture of races), and it has been calculated that " a century (or at most two centuries) of universal ethics, untempered

[1] How great has been the increase of population due to the scientific control of life in Eastern lands is thus summarised by McDougall: " India shows us clearly that the prime effect of bringing such populations under the sway of western administration has been to multiply them at a great rate. Such administration has been only partially and locally established in India, with increasing efficiency, throughout a period of hardly one century; yet the effect has been to increase the population to more than 300,000,000. Japan, during the brief period since the administration of the western type, has shown a similar tendency to a very rapid increase of numbers. Java, under the excellent administration of the Dutch, illustrates the same fact; for Java, with nearly 35,000,000 people is now, after a century of such administration, one of the most densely populated regions of the earth." (*Ethics and Some World Problems*, p. 68).

by any remnant of national ethics, would result in the practical extinction of the white race in all of the two Americas, and in Africa, Australia, and Asia; the dwindling remnant being absorbed wholly in the flood of coloured peoples." [1] This would mean, not the extension of the white man's civilisation among this mongrel race, but the substitution of a lower culture more in keeping with its primitive instincts and standards of living. Much more might be said in illustration of the same principle.

VI

It is thus clear that the ethics of the future must be a system of behaviour which includes the principles of Universal ethics tempered with such elements of natural ethics as can be consistently amalgamated with the wider view.

This will undoubtedly be a long and difficult task, but there is no reason for pessimism if it is approached in the right spirit. We venture to suggest the following considerations.

1. The spread of world-relations calls for a system of ethics that shall be universal in basis and scope. We are fast entering on an era to which the old national type acting alone is altogether out of date, and totally inadequate to meet the new conditions. And a mingling of types in more or less veiled conflict can only result in confusion of conduct, with ultimate results that cannot but be disastrous to the race.

2. It is equally manifest that Universalism in the abstract cannot give a sufficiently clear direction for practical conduct. It must come down from the clouds,

[1] McDougall, op. cit., p. 74.

and face the facts of a world composed of peoples and races in various stages of culture and possessing divergent racial qualities. The spiritual "equality" of all men must not be construed to mean that they are all of equal capacity, individually, nationally, or racially. To leave the question of population, for instance, as it is to-day, in a state of drift, forgetting that man having already interfered profoundly with the previous methods of nature in evolution, must now take an intelligent hand in its future regulation, would end in a reversal of the evolutionary process, and the degeneracy of the whole race.

3. It is equally clear that in this synthesis of Universal with Natural ethics can only be attained by the complete transfusion of applied science with the spirit of ethical religion and *vice versa*. For is not the ideal function of all scientific enquiry to give mankind such direction as shall enable it to define and fulfil the duties of life in ways that shall be consistent with the essential facts of the world-order? And if Mind, acting in virtue of its function of exercising progressively intelligent, foresighted, purposeful activity through science, has this power of guidance, it may, and doubtless will in time, hope to control and guide the cosmic process into which it has thus entered, in the interests of the race as a whole. Also, if man's spiritual nature is not a principle alien to the cosmic process, but its product and crown; and if his conscience is not an "unnatural" power that impels him to wage a hopeless and losing fight against the forces of Nature, but the finest flower of that process, it follows that when a lasting alliance is formed between these two guiding principles, with "mind and heart according well," Man may hope eventually to win his way through these modern perils, and establish a

World-society in harmony with the essential conditions of well-being for all. In the next chapter we will endeavour to show how a spiritualised Science would help to solve one of the greatest of the new problems facing mankind in the near future.

CHAPTER V

BIRTH-CONTROL AND THE PROBLEM OF EUGENICS

IN considering the great world-problems that await solution in coming ages—problems which have arisen as the direct result of the recent advances in the control of natural processes during the scientific era —there is none more vital in its possible effects on the future of the human race, than the problem of Eugenics, or Birth-control. Here we can only deal with it in relation to its possible effects on the growth and regulation of population, both quantitively and qualitatively.

I

The biological aspects of this problem naturally claim our first attention.

What are the natural agencies which in times past have regulated the growth and quality of human population? The following is a summary of the chief biological laws which are usually believed to have determined the issue:

1. The *elan vital* of the life-principle on this planet seems to aim at producing the largest possible number of efficient individuals, and the most varied forms of life, permitted by environal conditions.

2. Some of these forms are recessive, i.e., tend to revert to earlier and less developed forms; others are *stagnant*, tending to repeat themselves endlessly without much organic change; and some are *progressive*, tending to produce higher forms in richer correspondence with the total environment.

3. The fertility of species is so great that there is a tendency in all forms of life to outgrow the normal supply of nourishment necessary for vigorous and healthy life.

4. The competition of individuals and species for subsistence under these conditions produces what is called the struggle for existence.

5. This struggle for existence tends to eliminate the weaklings of each kind in each generation, and so normally to lead to a gradual improvement in each species.

6. These physical conditions of evolution are complicated in the higher creatures by what is called sexual selection, i.e., mating takes place not by mere blind impulse, but largely by instinctive sexual selection, either on the part of the male or female, or both. On the whole this law also under natural conditions tends to the gradual evolution of higher forms of life.

How far is mankind under the sway of these biological laws?

Fundamentally, at least in earlier ages, human beings were evolved in accordance with these principles. Speaking roughly, the population has always depended on food-supply, and has tended to increase or diminish according to the available means of subsistence. Where food has been plentiful population has increased steadily, up to the limit of the food supply; where that limit has remained constant for long periods, population

has been stable; where it has decreased or died out for climatic or other reasons, population has shrunk, and in extreme cases has died out altogether.

In the case of mankind, however, other factors not operating among the lower creatures, have complicated the conditions of survival. Man is possessed of reason and strong social affinities, and this has greatly helped to give him an advantage in the struggle for life. By skill in hunting, by the domestication of animals, by better social organisation, by improved pastoral and agricultural methods, he has been able greatly to increase the quantity and improve the quality of his food supplies; and it has thus been possible to maintain great nations in comparative comfort for long ages. On the other hand, certain causes difficult to control have been unfavourable to the multiplication of the human species. The incidence of occasional droughts, famines, changes of climate, and, still more drastically, the periodic coming and going of ice-ages over vast areas of occupied land, have decimated or depopulated the various continents in turn. Epidemic diseases, to which civilised man has been constitutionally prone, have periodically thinned out thriving populations; and when races which in the course of time have become themselves immune to certain contagious complaints, have come into contact with others, they have passed on the infection to other races less immune, often with desolating effects. It was not the prowess of the Pilgrim Fathers that exterminated their Indian foes in New England, but the small-pox with which they contaminated that virile race; and measles, which is seldom fatal to the white race, has swept away whole tribes in Africa and the South Sea, brought thither by civilised traders and travellers. There is little doubt that the subtle disease called "influenza"

has definitely weakened the vitality of European and American communities during the last half-century.

The most important factor in relation to population is undoubtedly war. In earlier times it probably acted as a favourable selective factor. When personal combat was a prominent feature in tribal struggles, the man of strong physique and high courage had better chances of survival in battle; and he was better able to stand the hardships of fatigue, weather, hunger and disease. This was comparatively true down to within quite recent times; but it is true no longer, in this age of heavy artillery and machine-guns. Even in the Napoleonic era, as the result of the wastage of twenty years of incessant fighting, it is affirmed that the average height of the French nation fell abruptly by one inch. Since then the comparatively peaceful British and American nations have developed both physically and mentally, and have spread far over the earth, carrying a dominating and civilising influence wherever they have gone. It is as yet too soon to measure the calamitous effects of the Great War of 1914–18 on the physical vitality of European peoples; it is however clear that a large proportion of the best blood of the whole continent, especially that of the chief belligerent nations—Russia, Germany, France and Britain—has been lost to posterity, and that it will take several generations of careful breeding and simple living to recover from the loss—if it can ever be recovered. Nor are the evil effects restricted to the direct effects of battle and disease; to these we must add the sterilising effect of those years of tension and misery on the home population. Birth-control, however real, is not the only reason for small families in many post-war homes.

II

Harking back to earlier but still recent times, one of the most remarkable features of the last four centuries has been *the unprecedented increase of the white man.*

During this period it is calculated that this race has grown nearly 8 times in population. Europe, till the end of the 15th century, was the exclusive home of the white man, and it contained about 70 millions of people in 1500 A.D., now the white race numbers about 450 millions ; and there are 100 million white men in North America where there was not one in 1500 A.D., and many millions more scattered in other parts of the world. There is no record in history of such a rapid racial increase.

And the reason ? The white population of Europe had been kept down since Roman times by various causes, but these causes ceased to act with Columbus's discovery of the New World, with its consequent release from the pressure of the brown man—Arab and Turk —from Asia. The crusades were over, with their recurrent wastage of the best racial strains of the West ; no European war of any consequence took place till the rise of Napoleon ; the vast continent of America beckoning across the Atlantic drew ever greater hordes of immigrants from the surplus stock—first from Britain, then, during the 3rd and 4th quarters of the last century, from all Europe ; and the industrial era provided a living for the ever-increasing millions. The British people numbered about 3 millions in Elizabeth's time, 9 millions at the beginning of the 18th century, and 35 millions in 1900. America multiplied from a very few millions in 1800 to about 110 millions at the present day. The white

man thus rose in numbers in this brief period from the third to the first place among the races of mankind.

Within the same period he has asserted himself internationally till he is the undisputed master of the planet, a position he has reached by sheer power of mentality, inventive genius, and the capacity to surpass all other races in the arts of orderly government, accumulation of wealth, and economic enterprise and resourcefulness. At present he controls the markets, the finance, and the political policy of the world. And there is no doubt whatever that it is the Nordic section of the white race which has provided the chief creative personalities. The chief agents of this world-conquest were pre-eminently the Anglo-Saxon or British members of that section, closely followed by the Teutonic, the Mediterranean and the Alpine peoples of northern, southern and central Europe. This sub-race supplied the enterprise, the driving-power, and the vital stamina which led to the white man's rulership of the world.

III

We are now being warned, however, that the numerical superiority of the white man has already passed its zenith, and that his sovereign place among the nations is in consequent peril. This is not due to any inherent loss of vitality, but to the cause mentioned at the beginning of this chapter—the widespread practice of birth-control among the white peoples of Europe and America.

It is probable—nay certain—that artificial checks

to the increase of population were practised in ancient times, but they were restricted to the rich and governing classes, the poor and slave-population (the " proletarian " class) being encouraged to multiply at their normal rate, in order to provide material for the national and imperial armies, and for industrial purposes. In the case of Rome this custom, and the ever-increasing laxity and licentiousness of the possessing classes, and the constant wastage of war, ended in the extinction of the best racial strains which had hitherto provided the military and political leaders of the Empire, and this ultimately brought the Empire to the ground. " Rome fell for lack of leaders " (Seeley). The modern dominance of the White Race —it is claimed—is apparently in peril for the same reason.

Till recently it was generally held in the countries of the white man that any artificial check to the growth of population was as real a sin against nature as abortion. The animating force of this belief was not scientific but religious. The Roman Catholic Church still holds and preaches that view ; but in Protestant communities, there has recently been a widespread change of attitude, and this change has affected the more religious part of those communities in a marked degree. Forty years ago Chas. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant were legally punished for the publication of their joint book *The Fruits of Philosophy*, in which the methods of birth-control were first popularly described in English ; now, books of this kind are openly published without penalty, and public opinion is growingly in favour of the practice. Meanwhile a large literature on both sides of the question is being produced, and the *pros and cons* call for careful consideration.

IV

The *immediate effect* of the practice of birth-control is *unquestionably affecting the best strains in the community.* We have not as yet applied to this problem the test of accurate statistics on this side of the Atlantic, but during, and especially since the close of, the War, much valuable work has been done in America. It has there been shown that birth-control never begins with the very poor, but the very rich; not with the ignorant classes, but with the educated; not among the criminal, but among the law-abiding; not among idiots and wastrels, but among the intelligent and virtuous. In the *Sixth Annual Report of Birth Statistics in the United States* (1920), we find that the lawyers and judges of America who had families at all, had 2·2 living children, while janitors and sextons had 3·4; authors, editors and reporters had 2·1, while workers in stone quarries and gravel-pits had 3·6; skilled workmen had 2·6, unskilled 3·1; doctors had 2·1, while skating-rink and dancing hall keepers, garbage-men and scavengers had among the best—at least the highest—averages, with an average of over 3 living children to their credit. Can it be doubted that the same is true of Britain? Till quite recently, the middle and cultured classes in this country were quite normally prolific, and large families were the rule; the contrary is true to-day. The writer may be permitted to relate a personal experience. Twenty years ago he was called upon to exchange a settled pastorate for a position which involved the exercise of a wandering ministry among one of the most widely spread of the Free Church denominations of this country. At that time he could safely expect

a goodly sprinkling of children in every congregation which he visited. Slowly and without pause he has witnessed a startling change passing over the scene; the number of children has been steadily decreasing, and to-day they do not form a fraction of what was once a marked proportion of his audiences. Granted that there are other causes which partly account for the situation, he has strong reasons for believing that in a large number of cases children are not there because they do not exist.[1] Now it will not be readily denied that the community in question contains a large modicum of the best racial elements in the nation. They are sober, diligent, law-abiding and kindly people, who are pledged to bring up their children in the fear of God, and in the habits of a virtuous life. And what is true of these, is true of other worshipping congregations throughout the land. Our religious people, in a word, are fast ceasing to produce their share of the population in this country. Catholics alone continue to produce normal families, for the reason already suggested. They claim, indeed, that if the present difference between the size of Protestant and Catholic families continues, this country will in less than a century become a predominantly Catholic country, and that without the addition of a single convert from any other Church. The same is true of the non-worshipping section of the nation. The ignorant and the vicious, the dull-witted and the heedless, are multiplying normally; while the aristocracy of intellect and worth in all classes are becoming comparatively sterile.

We have already seen that this is true also of

[1] The writer was told by a minister recently that in his (moderate-sized) congregation, there are 40 married couples in regular attendance, without a single living child in their families.

America, to which we make a further reference. Prof. Wiggam in his book on *The Decalogue of Science*[1] makes the following startling statement :—" There were 102 pilgrims who came over in the Mayflower and landed on that first Thanksgiving Day at Plymouth Rock. No finer stock to found a great breed of men and women ever set out to sea. I have the names of all of them lying here on my desk as I write. More than half of them died within the next few months. Only 23 are known to have left descendants. But what descendants! Let us read off a few just at random. John Adams, John Quincey Adams, Chas. Francis Adams, James A. Garfield, Ulysses S. Grant, Levi P. Morton, Elihu Root, Chief Justice Taft, President Zachary Taylor, Daniel Webster, Gen. Leonard Wood, Ralph W. Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Frank Munsey, Percy MacKaye, Winston Churchill. It was eight generations ago that they landed. They expanded to many thousands. But civilisation is conquering its creators. Competent students have shown that at their present birthrate, within another eight generations all their living descendants could be put into another vessel the size of the Mayflower, and 'sent back home' to England!" This evidence (and much more could be brought forward) proves that the present result of birth-control among the leading white peoples on both sides of the Atlantic is to sterilise the fit, the capable, the intelligent and the virtuous classes, and to uncontrolled reproduction of the unfit, the vicious and the dysgenic classes. Qualitatively, *at present*, birth-control is working rapidly towards race-suicide in all the English speaking lands.

[1] pp. 61, 2.

V

Over against all this let us look at the rest of the world-population—the Brown, Yellow, Black and Red races.

Up till within living memory, the natural checks to the rapid multiplication of population were actively at work among these races, keeping the coloured populations of the world at a static point. The effect of food-limitation, epidemic diseases, and occasional visitations of drought, flood, famine and war, kept the world from being over populated. During the latter half of the last century two great agencies both emanating from the White race centres revolutionised this situation. They were sanitary science, directed by religious humanitarianism, and Missionary propaganda, which carried the Gospel to the far places of the earth, and invested human life with new values among the barbaric tribes of Africa, the savages of the South Seas, and the static civilisations of the East. Even in communities which have stubbornly refused to accept Christianity as a faith, these new values of life, whose validity depends entirely on the truths of the Christian revelation, have awakened a sense of human rights and privileges among peoples who had never before been conscious of them. We must add to this influence the methods by which modern science has neutralised the natural checks of population—and Western influences have implanted these checks everywhere—and it is easy to see that the result it has brought about was inevitable. Everywhere the coloured races have multiplied at a rapid rate. With the exception of a few degenerate tribes who have proved incapable of making contact with the White man without dying off under the effects of his very

contagious vices, every tribe and people with whom he has had relations have increased in numbers at an unprecedented pace. In India, China, Japan, Africa, the two Americas, and the islands of the Pacific, the human race is growing faster than the means of subsistence will soon be able to meet. If present conditions persist, in another century or two, the White race will not only be hopelessly outnumbered as well as deprived of its noblest strains, but the whole world will be hopelessly over-populated by a mixture of races without adequate safeguards or control, and we shall be face to face with an unparalleled racial crisis, the gravity of whose consequences it would be difficult to exaggerate. Science may possibly develop methods of synthetic food supply which would prolong the coming of this crisis indefinitely, but even that can only postpone the issue.

VI

I now come to the only remedy which can possibly meet the situation. That is the development and application of the science of Eugenics on a world-scale.

It was Sir Francis Galton, cousin of Francis Darwin, who first mooted the possibility and need of such a science in the last quarter of the 19th century. Its aim is simply this. The old natural (physical and biological) agencies which kept the world's population within the bounds of subsistence, and selected the best individuals for survival within each community, have been disturbed and largely eliminated, leaving as its legacy the possibility and probability of the unregulated, unselected multiplication of the human race. The sure ultimate result of such a situation

would be over-population of the world as to quantity, and the swamping of the best types of the race qualitatively; and further, if free racial intermixture were to ensue, the sure deterioration of the whole race to the level of a mongrel humanity in which the results of a long natural selection would be inevitably lost for ever (for it is a law of biology that in the case of intermixture of stock the older and less differential always in time "breeds out" the later and more developed but less stable stocks). *Therefore in place of natural selection, we must apply artificial (or as it should be called human) selection to the breeding of the human family*, as we have done in the case of domestic animals with such amazing and beneficent results. "Eugenics" as an enthusiast has well put it, "means a new religion, new objects of religious endeavour, a new moral code . . . a new social and political Bible, a change in the very purpose of civilisation and the fundamental *mores* of man. It means the improvement of man as an organic being. It means that the enhancement of man's inborn capacities for happiness, health, sanity and achievement shall become the one living purpose of the State."[1] It is the "new Humanism, involving a change in the whole perspective of civilisation, a new orientation of race-culture. It is the only possible chance so far as we can now see, not only of any future evolution of mankind, but of preserving the biological gains and triumphs of the whole past movement of evolution." Evolve or perish! has been nature's stern mandate to every species of living creature in the past; and her mandate for man in the future is "Breed eugenically, or go under!" We have taken the process of selection out of her seemingly cruel but really beneficent hands;

[1] *New Decalogue of Science*, pp. 92, 3.

and we must do wisely and mercifully, and lovingly in coming days what she has been doing for us in her own rougher way up till now.

It is high time to face the facts of the situation, and set about this work before it is too late. Already, it is true, birth-control has become a wide and general fact in the higher communities of the world ; but so far it has largely been exercised selfishly, blindly, unintelligently and from the narrowly personal point of view. Immediate advantage, economic or individual, has been the prevailing motive. Family comfort and immediate ease has usually been the object aimed at. Even from this point of view, the result is beginning to be disastrous, for it is rapidly thinning out the kind of people who have hitherto contributed the thinkers, writers, scientists, preachers, statesmen, leaders and orderly classes of citizen. But, as we have tried to show, there are wider points of view from which the question must be envisaged—the national, the racial, the universally human. We must breed eugenically in future in the interests of humanity at large, or we will most surely breed dysgenically, and the species *Homo* will revert to a lower type, on the way possibly to extinction. If man is in the world to subdue its natural forces and agencies in the interests of the race as a whole, he must not abdicate this, surely his highest function, as the sub-agent in the Providential Order. That function is to help and not defeat God to produce the highest type of man this planet is capable of realising.

VII

The opponents of this Science—and they are many—raise many objections. They decry the possibility of

such a science, denying the determining nature of heredity as a factor in family and race; exaggerating the function of environment, education and training, the unlimited plasticity of average or even degraded human nature under proper influence. The religious postulate of the spiritual equality of all human beings in the sight of God is invoked by some; also the power of Christianity to uplift the lowest types of human beings into a new and higher life is invoked as the only talisman of future evolution by the ultra-evangelical school. Again, it is pointed out that there are no available motives which can be stirred into action in the pursuit of the Eugenic ideal, and that it is vain to expect men to regulate the strongest individual human instinct in the interests of the race at large, or even in the interests of the particular class or type of race to which we belong.

These are formidable objections, and it is impossible to deal with them *seriatim* here. We would, however, single out one or two of these objections for a few words in reply.

First, we must allow that at present the science of human eugenics is in its infancy, and has a long way to go before it can claim maturity. But a great beginning has been made. The discovery of the Mendelian laws of heredity in the vegetable and animal world has established the foundational principles of the science beyond cavil or dispute. *Environment, education and religion can do much for the individual, but heredity is unquestionably pre-potent in the race.* Expert investigation is rapidly breaking down the biological arguments against eugenics; and the startling statistics *re* the present character of the falling birthrate proves that unless something is done to stem the sterilising of the best

strains in civilised communities, disastrous things will happen in a few generations in all civilised, and especially Anglo-Saxon lands. There are no countries where birth-control is working so dysgenically as in the youngest and least populated British colonies, where the conditions call for an indefinite increase of a virile population.

Secondly, as to the alleged impossibility of creating a communal public opinion of the subject.

There is nothing more variable in the fascinating story of human ideals than the standards of beauty in different nations and communities; that is, in the working of the factor which evolutionists have called *sexual selection*. The type of man and woman who is desired for a mate is not only different among different tribes and races and nations, but changes slowly but surely within the same community. What determines these principles of favour, these standards of beauty? You can trace some of these varying changing types in the art galleries of Europe. Art reproduces the types most popular at the time when the painter or sculptor lived, and if this question is studied historically we come upon some startling contrasts from time to time. It enables us as it were to catch human sexual evolution "on the wing."

Let us give one or two instances of how Art first registers, and then creates, biological ideals of beauty. During the Italian Renaissance, when the study of Greek Art became an obsession in Italy, "the painters and sculptors of Italy produced constantly a certain type of face somewhat similar to the faces which the Greek artists so much admired, and which they probably reproduced from among their Nordic co-partners in that wonderful civilisation. This Italian face was characterised by a beautiful classic forehead,

somewhat thin, delicately moulded nose, low orbital arch over the eyes, almost straight or slightly curved eyebrows, the eyes deeply set and close together, the upper eyelid scarcely discernible, and the cheeks flowing down in gently chiselled contour—the whole presenting an appearance which corresponds to our ideals to-day of a very rich and alluring type of beauty both in man and woman." [1] " Now at the same time the Dutch, Flemish, French and English painters were producing a type of beauty astonishingly different "—a broad heavy face, protruding eyes, low nose-bridge, high cheek bones, and other characteristics much like an American Indian squaw—a face " massive but not beautiful."

Let us note what followed. The Renaissance came to the West ; and with the Renaissance, Renaissance Art ; and with Renaissance Art, Renaissance tastes ; and with Renaissance tastes, a tendency to select mates more or less in accordance with that taste. The result has been noted by Karl Pearson in this country, and by Dr. Woods, an eminent biologist, in America. The latter proves unmistakably that in that plastic community the typical American face has been definitely changing since Puritan times. " Our Puritan Ancestors," writes Dr. Wiggam, " in the majority of cases, did not look as we do. The faces of the present day upper middle classes in America are much more refined and tend much more to the Greek type [2] than did those of the Founders. The change is fundamental and anatomical, not merely a change in habitual expression " (p. 191).

[1] *Decalogue of Science*, pp. 189, 90.

[2] Others, however, e.g. Prof. McDougall, suggest that it approximates more to the old American Indian Type.

Now this shows that through the influence of a semi-conscious psychic ideal a distinct evolutionary change has been produced in a particular class within a few generations by selective breeding. This is here mentioned only as an illustration of this possibility even when sub-consciously directed. How much more could not be done by a stronger, conscious motive, acting for long ages through wide ranges of human society—a motive awakened by the acceptance of a great ideal—the evolution of humanity to a finer, healthier, nobler type? All we need do is to get men and women to think earnestly, and long passionately, in that direction, and the result is not only practicable, but certain. For whether it be true or not that man is the "final end" of the organic process, and that we cannot hope for the emergence of a race of supermen, as different from ourselves as we are from our ancestors; it is at least certain that the evolution of man is not complete; that he is still in the making; that the man that is, is but the promise of the man that may be, if only the man that ought to be has a chance to become a reality.

It is thus abundantly clear, that the most radical way of saving the world from the possibility of reversed organic and social evolution—an evolution backwards and downwards into the depths of savagery and animality from which in prehistoric times we slowly emerged, is along the path of a sane and intelligent religious revolution in our ideas of birth-control. Only by putting ourselves in fellowship with the Creator, studying His laws of creative evolution, accepting our own share in the conscious evolutionary process of the future, and loyally working for better, nobler, more spiritually and intelligently guided race-culture, can we hope to improve human nature physically, and produce a super-

race of men and women, well endowed with the best potential qualities of *genus Homo*, and working in every fresh generation genetically in the interests of the children of the future. This is to apply the golden rule of Jesus to a new relation—" Do unto the unborn as you would the unborn to do unto you." To quote an author already referred to,[1] " Eugenics, which is simply conscious, intelligent, organic evolution, thus furnishes the final programme for the completed Christianisation of mankind." There is much of the crude quality of his animal heredity still left in modern man; he, who is the heir of eternity, is still of the earth, earthy in many of his instincts and passions; as yet he is only partially rational, very imperfectly ethicised, still far from completely spiritualised; nor can these higher elements be fully developed without a corresponding development of his physical nature as their instrument. But there are unbounded possibilities of betterment in man; he has the immeasurable future before him in which to realise them, in body, mind and spirit. And the type to which he must conform in order to climb the heights which still stretch before him has been historically suggested: " We are children of God *now*, beloved; what we are to be is not apparent yet, but we do know that when He appears, we are to be like Him—for we are to see Him as He is. And everyone who rests this hope on Him, purifies himself as He is pure." A world peopled with men on the pattern of the Son of Man would make this earth a heaven, than which the Heaven Above could not be heavenlier.

Was it not some such vision as this which inspired Tennyson long ago to write these lines?

[1] Dr. Wiggam, *The New Decalogue of Science*.

" Red of the Dawn !
Is it turning a fainter red ? So be it, but when shall we lay
The ghost of the brute that is walking, and haunting us yet and
be free ?
In a hundred, a thousand winters ? Ah, what will our children be
The men of a hundred thousand, a million summers away ? "

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE OF RELIGION, AND THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE

THE fifth achievement of the modern scientific era has been the bringing together of the great religions of the world into direct contact and relationship. This was first initiated by the missionary movement of the early 19th century, but the progress of international intercourse during its later years greatly accentuated the situation, and turned it into a world-problem of the first order. It raises two critical questions. First, will religion itself survive in the world-civilisation which is in process of evolution? If so, secondly, in what form? In the future rivalry of diverse faiths, will one prove more vital and better suited to the spiritual needs of such a civilisation, and oust the others from their historic place? Or will the religion of the future be a syncretistic or synthetic faith, to which the historic faiths will contribute some of their own distinctive beliefs or cultus? We can only hope to throw out a few crucial suggestions bearing on the main question.

I

In the first place, *is modern civilisation dependent on or compatible with any religious faith at all?*

It may be said with some plausibility, that all the ancient civilisations were intimately related to, if not created by their own religious systems, and only flourished so long as these were heartily believed and followed. Modern civilisation, however, we are sometimes told, derives its distinctive character not from our own historic faith, but from the emergence of Science, which is the source of the discoveries and inventions that have produced so startling a change in man's place in the universe. When of old, faith waned and died, there was no other power to take its place as the safeguard and inspiration of the social order, and largely for lack of it, each successive civilisation waned into obscurity, or flamed into ruin. We are no longer we are told, in need of supernatural help or sanctions for the proper conduct of life on earth. The New Knowledge provides all the direction we need for right living, and all the incentives we require for social progress.

Again, it is frequently pointed out that faith and knowledge have always been at strife. The spirit of faith is credulous—it believes what it is told ; the spirit of science is sceptical—it only believes what and when it must. Acquiescence without examination or test is the temper of faith ; doubt, experiment, logical proof are the demands of science. And science when in conflict with faith, has always ultimately won. So long as religion was in control, it was able to delay, hinder and persecute science from coming to her proper kingdom ; but at last science has not only planted itself firmly on her foundations, and come to full and triumphant recognition, but she has begun to sap at the foundations of religious faith, and threatens to drive even the Christian religion back on her last defences. Consequently, this is an age of

waning faith but of ever-enlarging scientific control over Nature and life. "If indeed faith finally succumbs to the attack of the scientific spirit, it will be no great calamity, for science will be able to fulfil all the vital functions of religion as man's guide, philosopher and friend through his earthly pilgrimage." Such are the claims sometimes made on behalf of the modern scientific movement.

We do not need to minimise the value of the New Knowledge, and the supreme benefits it has bestowed on mankind, in order to call these claims not merely extravagant, but absurd. The functions of religion and science are so distinct, and at the same time so essential to a full and adequate life, that we do honour to neither by treating them as rivals to a sovereign place in human life. We cannot do without either, if we are to live as we ought, or even live at all in the highest sense. For we live in two worlds—the world of facts, and the world of values. It is the function of science to discover and codify the facts of nature, and the experiences of the race, in the interests of a progressive life. In that domain science is at home, and it is a calamity that religion ever interfered with her proper task of organising the function of reason as the guide of man in his relation to the physical and social environment. It is the function of religion, on the other hand, to give man a spiritual interpretation of life's facts and experiences, and to bring him into relation to that "world of values" in which lie the true satisfactions of his soul. Our experiences are made up on the one hand of the things that are around us, and that happen to us—these, science can handle fruitfully; and on the other, of the interpretations we give them—and to do this is the business of religion. Science, in other

words, provides us with the materials, the mechanism, of well-being ; religion enables us to use these materials so as to ensure our own and others' well-being. *And religion does this by giving us God, who is the supreme centre and home of all values.* " Though I understand all mysteries, and all knowledge "—that is science ; " but have not love, I am nothing "—what enables us to discover *that,* is religion. When, therefore, science has done all that it is in her to do, the main task of life is still unattained ; religion must transvaluate all her gifts into their higher equivalents, before we can live the life that is " the life indeed."

And, therefore, so far from true is it that science can take the place of religion as the sovereign guide of life, that we have to safeguard ourselves through religion from the perils of our scientific achievements, lest they become the instruments of man's doom instead of the means of his emancipation and enrichment. The gift of *Power*—who shall teach us to use it ethically ? The gift of *Wealth*—who shall teach us to make it humanely, to distribute it justly, to use it nobly ? The gift of *World-wide intercourse*—who shall teach us how to attain a Great Society that is rich in human benefit, and not a mere dangerous welter of suspicious and contending groups and races ? The gift of *controlling the Life-force*—who shall spiritualise for us this perilous power, so as to conserve and develop the best potencies of the race, and help us to realise the higher evolution of the " man that is to be ? " Science is the switch-board of life, and shows us how to direct and control its currents, but she cannot ensure that the energies thus released shall be wisely and sanely used. Religion alone can do that. And, therefore, Man needs religion more to-day than ever, just because the New Knowledge

has increased man's power for mischief as well as good. Only by the inspirations and restraints of religion can science hope to make the Future of man the climax and glory of his troubled Past.

It is, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance for us to-day to get a safe and sure answer to this question—What is to be the future of religion, and what is to be the religion of the future?

II

There are only three possible rivals in the field, for they are the only religions that have the "universal note" in them—Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Each of these claims to be a world-religion, and professes to meet the spiritual needs of man as man, ignoring all distinctions of nationality, race, class and culture.

For there does not seem to be the slightest prospect of the emergence of a universal synthetic or syncretistic religion, i.e., a religion that aims at uniting the universal elements of the living father of mankind. All vital religions have been historical Religions; they are born not made. There has been more than one attempt in history to formulate a synthetic religion, compounded of beliefs belonging to the various historical religions in vogue at the time, such as Gnosticism, Mithraism, Theosophy, etc.; but they have never shown any conquering vitality, nor proved acceptable to more than an insignificant and passing minority. A hundred years ago, Comte, in his *System of Positive Philosophy* made an attempt to produce a religious synthesis which should meet the needs of the modern world; but its cold abstrac-

tions made little appeal outside a very limited group of intellectualists, and it is already moribund. The various modern theosophical and spiritualistic cults are the illegitimate offspring of ancient Gnostic syncreticisms, and find acceptance chiefly among auto-suggestive people who seek satisfaction for starved religious instincts in the elaboration of subjective fantasies which cannot bear the test of scientific investigation. There are various other irresponsible idealities, emanating chiefly from the United States (Christian Science, various types of "New Thought," etc.), which come and go from time to time without leaving any deep trace on the general movements of life and thought. The only value of these experimental cults is to show how deeply the religious impulse is rooted in human nature—an impulse which, when denied healthy satisfaction, runs into all sorts of fanciful subjectivities that are often more irrational than the wildest creeds of primitive tribes.

We must turn, therefore, to the living faiths of the world to-day for an answer to our question. These three great religions are now face to face, and in active competition for the acceptance of humanity, and they are full of missionary zeal—each in its own characteristic way. The last century saw the revival of Christian missionary enthusiasm all over the world, and while it has been losing power for the present in some of the countries where it was most deeply rooted, it now has more influence (even where it has no corporate church) in non-Christian lands than at any previous period. Islam, after centuries of waning vitality, revived during the same century, and has been spreading widely among African tribes, where it has till recently made more converts than Christianity.

Buddhism, since its contact with the West, has been filled with reforming zeal, and is not disposed to give way to any rival creed at present. The question thus recurs—which of these religions has the spiritual resources that can meet the clamant needs of this complex and restless modern world ?

III

What, then, are the fundamental tests of such a religion ?

Briefly, *it must give us an adequate conception of the nature and attributes of God* as the *Object of religious worship*, of His relation to Man and the World, and of His purpose for Man as the highest earthly being. It must *interpret Man to himself*, and his place and function in relation to the world in which he finds himself. It must present us with an *ethical ideal*, and a moral dynamic *commensurate with the demands of the larger world* into which Man has recently been launched, and of the world-society in process of development. It must have a *universal adaptability* to the varying religious needs of men in every stage of development, while encouraging every influence tending to lift the whole race to a common level of culture and civilisation. And it *must open a vista of immortality* which shall solve the perplexities of human experience in this life. We can only in the briefest and most summary way apply these tests to the three religions in question.

THE DOCTRINE OF GOD

Buddhism, while deeply mystical, and, therefore, religious in temper, has no doctrine of God at all.

It has been described as the "religion of atheism." It has no creed, and no cultus, and no system of worship. The earliest form of Buddhism did not openly deny the existence of gods, but it had no use for them; its code of conduct was independent of any Divine sanctions. The void was filled later by the worship of the several Buddhas (of whom Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was not the first nor the last), and by the introduction of the popular gods of India in the guise of the "Holy Ones." This relapse into polytheism shows the defect of the original form of this "religion" in the absence of a satisfying conception of God.

Islam, on the other hand, is strongly Monotheistic. It affirms the existence, unity and power of God. This religion arose in the sixth century A.D. at a time when the doctrine of the Trinity had practically degenerated in Arabia into a polytheistic cult. What were the attributes of Allah as thus conceived? They were seven in number—Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Vocal Speech—which must be accepted by faith, being incapable of comprehension by human reason—the central attribute of Knowledge being conveyed through the sacred revelation of the Koran. It is to be noted that *not one of these attributes has any moral quality*, the only approach to such being the temper or disposition of Allah as the All-merciful one—which in the mind of Islam is not to be distinguished from good-nature towards the faithful. But even Allah is not possessed of freedom, being pre-determined by an all-pervading Fate, the behests of which cannot be modified even by God. This is clearly an impossible Object of Worship for cultured and civilised men and women.[1]

[1] See Garvie, *Tutors unto Christ.*

Christianity, as we have seen at length in the earlier volume of this work, presents God as a complete and perfect Personality, whose nature is essentially holy and good. In Jesus Christ He has been revealed as the Universal Father of Mankind, who, while stern in His demands, is gracious and forgiving towards His children. Here is a conception of God which has in it an appeal to men of every colour, culture, race and condition, and which binds the whole human family in a fundamental unity of relationship to Him and to one another. This conception of Supreme Being had been struggling for expression in Hebrew and other religions for centuries, but in Jesus Christ it became not a speculation or a dream, but a Yea and an Amen. Christianity towers above all other religions in its conception of God as a satisfying Object of worship.

THE DOCTRINE OF MAN

Buddhism views human life in a most pessimistic mood. Man is the victim of a process of reincarnation in endless succession. At its best life is *pain*, an experience of unsatisfied desires that can never be filled, of yearnings that are always to be mocked, of ideals that can never be realised. Man is neither free nor blessed. His only refuge is to try to deny the lust for life by which he is tormented from cradle to grave; to retire into the depths of his own being, and to be his own saviour by winning his way to a Nirvana of rest, which is little more or less than a state of absolute quiescence if not of positive non-being. True, his pathway to this heaven of nothingness is along the line of kindly service and beneficence to

his fellow-men; but while the Buddhistic code of conduct has much to recommend it, it has only a negative and static ideal of life which can never appeal to a dynamic and progressive type of people, such as is demanded for the tasks of the world-civilisation of to-morrow.

The Mohammedan conception of Man is equally inadequate. According to this faith, a blind fate rules over human life and destiny. It has no conception of ethical freedom, and, therefore, no real doctrine of wilful wrong-doing. The marks of a good Mussulman are the fulfilment of the five daily prayers as a mechanical custom; almsgiving, regulated by law, as a method of securing merit; and the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in a lifetime, as a condition of future blessedness. The only summary statement of anything like a moral code in its sacred literature, is one sentence in the Koran: "Verily God commandeth justice and beneficence and generosity to such as be near of kin, and forbiddeth wickedness and wrong-doing and oppression." [1] The secrets of the spread of Mohammedanism are its simple creed, and the recognition of all its members as a new and noble caste in which the distinctions of nationality, of birth and of occupation are annulled, and all are united in a brotherhood—at least theoretically." And yet one of the most aggressive marks of Islam is its *Jehad*, or war of extermination which is theoretically preached against all infidels (i.e., non-Mohammedans), it being a virtue to fight against them till they are all either converted or destroyed; the conversion demanded not being a change of heart, but merely the acceptance of a bald and arid creed. Its code of conduct is external,

[1] Garvie, op. cit.

inflexible, unadaptable, rigid. Thus, once more, what may have been more or less acceptable to a tribal condition in the 6th century A.D. becomes impossible of adaption to the dynamic conditions of the modern world.

Contrast with all this the flexible, ethically rich conception of human character described in the Sermon on the Mount and in the concrete teaching of St. Paul, that of a free spiritual being with an effective choice between ethical alternatives, and an inner principle of love to guide him in all the relations of life; responsible to God and his fellow-man for all that he is, yet not bound by any blind fate, nor even the free action of God, to be other than a man chooses himself to be and become. Here is the liberty with which Christ has made man free—a normal freedom which is the safeguard and inspiration of perpetual self-improvement and of an endless social betterment. Can we doubt which is the conception of human nature best adapted as an ideal for a dynamic and progressive civilisation?

THE WORLD-VIEW

Buddhism is frankly pessimistic in its evaluation of the physical universe and of human life. There is no principle of goodness or love at the root of things; the world is essentially a place of suffering, pain and misery, without hope of positive deliverance, or redemption from above. The world-view of Islam is essentially fatalistic; even God, as we have seen, is imprisoned in His universe, and man is the puppet of a deterministic system. True, there is a heaven to escape to after death—for believers; but it is one of

sensual delights rather than of moral attainment and spiritual progress.

The Christian view of the world, on the other hand —to summarise the central argument of this book— is that it is the work of a creative Spirit, personal, holy, loving, who has done all things well; that it is the theatre of a Providential Order in which man has a unique function, that of co-operating with God in the further attainment of His ultimate cosmic purpose, which is the transvaluation of material things into a Kingdom of spiritual ends. The realisation of this purpose has been so far hindered by the failure of Man to fulfil his function through the entrance of evil into the system, brought about by the misuse of his God-given freedom; but this has been graciously met by the revelation of God's Gospel of redeeming love, consummated in the Incarnation and saving work of His Son, and now offered freely to all mankind. This is a world-view diametrically opposed both to the Pessimism of Buddhism and the Fatalism of Islam, for it places Man's fate in his own hands, not through his own puny resources, but through the loving mercy of his Heavenly Father's redeeming power,which enables him to renew his own life, and once more to realise the end for which he was brought into being, as a preparation for a glorious immortality. This is Christianity in its essence—a Universal Religion, full of hope, incentive, and encouragement for the future of the world.

THE MORAL IDEAL

The Christian ideal of character includes all the higher virtues of other faiths, but they are transformed

by the spirit of love to God and to all man which weaves them all into an organic system of goodwill. This peculiarly Christian quality, incarnate once in history in the humanity of our Lord, lifts all life to a higher plane; enables the individual to accept the inhibitions and sufferings of this life with conquering patience, and to turn the worst elements in experience into material for attaining a finer and sweeter moral excellence; and it provides a basis for an universal social order in which all human antagonisms are resolved into harmony. In a realised Christian order all nations would be brought into relations of goodwill and co-operation for the good of all; the whole human race for the first time in its troubled history would be united in a true fellowship of mutual benefit.

ADAPTABILITY TO EXISTING CONDITIONS

A truly Universal Religion must be capable of adapting itself to the actual conditions of life on earth—to all the varying grades of temperament and moral status in the individual and to the infinitely diverse cultures and social systems at any time existent, with a view of developing at last the ideal human society. The history of Christianity has abundantly proved its adaptability to the needs of the most contrasted individual types; and the great missionary movement of the nineteenth century has shown that it can take tribes and peoples of all states of culture, and transform them by its spirit. And while Christianity has from the beginning brooked no rival claimant, it has shown itself hospitable to every element of truth in other faiths, and absorbed any

contribution they could make to the riches of its thought or the forms of its worship, in so far as this could be done without abandoning its own central doctrines. The attempt of the Roman Catholic church to standardise for all believers its own forms of belief and cultus, being out of keeping with the essential principle of Christian freedom, broke down at the Reformation; and whereas this has introduced a temporary confusion of creeds and forms of government into the universal church, the time seems approaching when this will be resolved into a true fellowship of churches, all united in essentials however diverse in methods of administration and in types of thought. This adaptability, embodying a fundamental unity in faith with wide freedom of form, is a unique feature of our Faith, and justifies its universal claim for acceptance.

How shall the acceptance of this universal faith be universally brought about?

Not by any form of compulsion; not by political machineries, or diplomacies, or any secular action. A spiritual religion can only spread by spiritual means. Christianity can only *force* its way into acceptance by *winning* its way; only through persuasion on the one side and conviction that it is true and sufficient for all human needs on the other. The missionary campaigns of the last century made a good beginning; they thrust the spear-point of the truth deep into the body of heathenism. Their chief enemy, however, is not in front, but behind—in the imperfectly Christianised civilisation which has followed the footsteps of the missionary all over the world, and undone a large part of his work. We must Christianise our own civilisation before we can either civilise or Christianise the world at large. It is proving a more

difficult task than we had thought; but it is neither impossible nor improbable, if only the Church will face it without losing heart, or turning recreant to her function. Her surety of victory lies not in herself, but in the mighty power of God working through His people.

CONCLUSION

IN bringing this survey of Man's place and function in this world to a close, it may be permitted the writer to indulge in a vision of what this humanised world will be when the Day-dream of Jesus, for the realisation of which He came into the world, has been realised—that KINGDOM OF GOD, which will also be the KINGDOM OF MAN—wherein dwelleth righteousness.

1. It will be a world in which Nature—that system of orderly physical energies and vital organisms which is the inalienable basis and environment of Man's life on earth—will be truly "humanised," that is, dominated by the human will, and transvaluated to human uses. Man himself being regenerated and thoroughly spiritualised, his uses of the teeming forces and creatures around him will be spiritualised also; his power over matter and life will be completely moralised, and will be used only for beneficent and holy ends. For untold ages, Man was under the tyranny of the physical and the psychic forces around and within him; he is still struggling to free himself from their incubus; but the time will arrive when, having "come to himself," he will be freed from their constraint, and from the evil that doth so easily beset him; and in working out his own salvation, he will redeem the world of matter itself to its true uses and possibilities.

2. This regenerated world will still be peopled by men and women such as we are, and yet very different from ourselves. In our far-off children, the darker traits of our prehuman heredity, the traces of "the ape and tiger" which have so long clung to the skirts of our nature, will have been sloughed off by a course of long-continued eugenic breeding, and the race will be human through and through. The instinctive elements of our constitution will still form its basis, to give life its initiative, its zest, its capacity for enjoyment; but these elements will be under the control of a clarified and spiritualised Reason, enthroned in its true place as the interpreter, path-finder and guide of life. All men will not be equal in capacity. There will be men of intellect, and men of will, and men of poetic sentiment and imagination; men of supreme power, and of ordinary abilities; leaders and followers; men of towering genius, and the average crowd to appreciate and rejoice in their works. But there will be no abnormal men and women, for the conditions tending to produce them will be known and provided against before marriage, and none will be permitted to reproduce their kind who would be likely to poison their offspring with dysgenic qualities. It will be a healthy, physically and mentally well-balanced race through and through, for the causes of disease will also be known and guarded against before they have any chance of infecting life with the germs of sickness and decay.

3. Whether the sub-races of mankind will continue to exist side by side, each with its own characteristics; or a mixed race will gather into itself the various distinctive qualities of all the present varieties of mankind, is not at present certain; the trend of eugenic thought inclines to the first conclusion, and

suggests the vital values of selective racial breeding rather than of panmixia. Nature has hitherto evolved by differentiation, not assimilation; and the future of humanity may favour the multiplication of racial types rather than of their elimination. But there will be no racial pride or exclusiveness in that regenerate world of men and women; each race will have its place to fill, probably its own habitat to people, and its own contribution to make to the sum total of human well-being.

4. The World-civilisation will still consist of many sub-civilisations, mainly within national borders, each with its distinctive political and social organisation, institutions, and culture, and fulfilling its individual function in the Great Society of Mankind. The precious gains of history would thus be conserved for universal use; and all the incentives of patriotism and local association will function unhindered as before. But the barriers between these national groups would not be upheld any more by military force or tariff walls, for fear and suspicion between nation and nation will cease to function with the causes that bred them into being. Whatever may be uncertain in such a world as we are here describing, it is certain that the whole race will never tolerate the military spirit in any nation, or the existence of even a defensive army, except, possibly, for police-purposes. Whenever any dispute may rise between one people and another, there will be a central court of appeal for its settlement on lines of mutual adjustment and friendly settlement; and none will be in a position to dispute its just awards. The present League of Nations is the germ of such an institution.

5. The Social Order in the ideal community will not necessarily be a socialistic democracy; but

rather will it be "democratic aristocracy"; based not on wealth, nor on political power gathered into a few hands, but on worth and function. Honour will be for those who contribute most by their qualities and their service to the well-being of all; and each man will take his place willingly in this hierarchy of social service, in accordance with his gifts and opportunities. The twelfth chapter of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians is a parable of such a society; it embodies the spirit of mutual regard and of glad service which will pervade the Great Society of the future; all being bent on giving benefit rather than on receiving it, yet all thankfully accepting what others have to give, and joining gladly in this interchange without envy or pride, or vainglory. In such a world the present causes of discontent and unrest will vanish; for the crude and illogical social distinctions which exist, and which are based not on social values but on unjust social privilege, will have disappeared, and be replaced by a re-sifting of society on a higher principle. There will still be room for emulation, but not for competitive strife; for there will be places of honour and influence to be striven for, not by the impoverishment, but the enrichment of others. Material wealth will be made humanely; it will be justly, though probably not equally, distributed; and its possession made conditional on being wisely shared and unselfishly enjoyed. In any society of imperfect human beings, "it must needs be that offences come"; but all punishments will be remedial in character, tempered finely with mercy, and free from any taint of vindictiveness. Under such a regime, the energies of men will be free to work for the true conditions of progress, and an unhindered pathway be opened out for all to realise the

best possibilities of their individual and social nature.

4. What will be the place and function of the Church in the regenerated social order ?

The first mandate it received from its Risen Master was to go forth into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature. This mandate is still in force, for the work has not been accomplished ; after two thousand years there are uncounted millions of the human race who have never heard the Christian message. We are, however, envisaging a time when this will have been effectually done, and when the whole race has long been under the sway of the Gospel. Then the Church will be able to give herself to a still higher task. It will be hers to evangelise each fresh generation before the forces of evil have had their chance of poisoning the virgin soil of the new humanity, of training it in the knowledge and nurture of the Lord from the beginning, and of developing its spiritual nature into fulness and power. It will once more join its forces with science, and with literature, and with art, and be their inspiration in every effort to enlighten, and enrich and beautify life. It will hallow the relation of Man to Nature, and sanctify all the uses to which his ever-enlarging control of her energies will be put. It will safeguard social privileges from abuse, and political power from tyranny. It will spiritualise commerce and trade and industry, and humanise the relations of those who co-operate in the production of wealth, or take part in its distribution in the exchanges and markets of the world. The distinction between the secular and the sacred will disappear from human life, for all that is secular will be sanctified. When this ideal state will be realised the world will once more be God's world,

and His "will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven."

Is this a fanciful picture? It is but a faint sketch of a world which has been in the making since the light first broke over the primeval chaos, and the earth was prepared for man's coming, that he might take his place as God's vice-gerent and fellow in bringing such a world into being. This is the "final end" of the Providential Order, "the last, for which the first was made." All that remains to be done in order that it may be realised, is that Man should at last rise to the fulfilment of his Providential function, and join his energies with the mighty power and wisdom of God, in loving obedience and joyful service.

On the sunlit hills of time—the City of God, the Commonwealth of the Redeemed!

"On the Lord's Day, I John, your brother and companion . . . found myself rapt in the Spirit, and I heard a voice behind me like a trumpet calling, 'Write your vision in a book . . .' So I turned to see whose voice it was that spoke to me; and on turning, I saw seven golden lampstands, and in the middle of the lampstands One who resembled a human being, with a long robe, and a belt of gold round his breast; his head and hair were white as wool, white as snow; his eyes flashed like fire, his feet glowed like burnished bronze, his voice sounded like many waves, in his right hand he held seven stars, a sharp sword with a double edge issued from his mouth, and his face shone like the sun in full strength. When I saw him, I fell at his feet like a dead man; but he laid his hand on me, saying, 'Do not be afraid; I am the First and the Last; I was dead and here I am alive for evermore, holding the keys

of death and Hades. Write down your vision in a book. . . .' "

Even so, Come Lord Jesus, Pioneer and Perfecter of our Faith, Herald and Surety and Creator of the New Heaven and the New Earth !

FINIS.

INDEX

Alpine Race, 140; its characteristics, 147.
America, the area of future admixture of races, 148 ff.
Andrews, Prof. H. T., on Covenant Relationships of Old Testament, 194 f
Apocalyptic view of the Kingdom of God—its value and limitations, 213 ff.
Aristotle, our debt to, 180.
Ascent through Christ, 29.
Assyria as a River-Civilisation, 165.
Babylonia as the Second River-Civilisation, 162 ff.

Basque Language, probably akin to that of Neolithic Man, 145.
Beddoe, Anthropological History of Europe (quoted), 148 n, 151.
Bergson, Prof., Creative Evolution (quoted), 43, 44, 50; His doctrine of the *elan vital*, 52.
Biology and History—their relation, 109.
Birth-control and the Problem of Eugenics, 272–291; is disastrous to best strains in the community, 279 ff.
Breaking Day, the, 175–196.
British Race, an amalgam of Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean stocks, 147 f.
Browning, Robt., Caliban on Setebos, 208 n.
Buddhism, claims of, as a universal religion, 296 ff.

Caxton's Buke of the Ordre of Knychtede, 84 n.
Chadbourne, P. A. (quoted), 23, 24 n.
Chastity, growth of—in women and men, 81 ff.
Chivalry, as an institution for raising the status of women, 83 n.
Cities, the Three Great Ancient —and what we owe to them, 175–196; Athens, 177–182 Rome, 182–187; Jerusalem, 187–196.
Civilisations, Eastern—Their non-progressive or static character, 197.
Civilisation, its stages—(1) The River Stage, 160 ff; (2) The Sea-stage, 175 ff; (3) The Ocean-stage, 217; (4) The World-stage, 222 ff.
Modern—Five Great Problems solved, leaving five others to be solved as their legacy, 224 f.
Modern—will it break down under pressure of modern world-problems? Reasons why not, 256 ff.
Conjugal affection, a later growth than parental, 80; its value for the better care of children, etc., 81.
Conklin, Prof., Heredity and Environment (quoted) 114 n.
Consciousness, how defined, 38; its function, 40–44, 46–49.
Covenant-bond in the Old Testament, 101 ff, 191 f.
Christianity, claims of, as a universal religion, 296 ff.

Economic Problem, the, 239–254.
Egypt as the Earliest River-Civilisation, 160 ff.
Encyclopædia Britannica (quoted), 127, 129.

Environment, the, of Man, 9–21. (i) *physical*, 10–15, bio-centric 12; on the whole favourable to man's interests, 15; (ii) animal creation, 15–17; (iii) social, 17–19; (iv) Spiritual, 19–21. This consciously co-operant with man, 106.
Erdmann, Prof., History of Philosophy (quoted), 180 n.
Ethics, universal and national, 260 ff; their antagonism, 263 ff; their reconciliation, 264–5, 269 ff; McDougall, on 266 ff.
Eugenics, see Birth-control.
Europe, the *habitat* of progressive man. Why, 159.
Evolution, Human, recent acceleration of, 222 ff.
Evolutionary Movement of Life—its oscilatory character, 221 ff.

Family, the—the fundamental human group, 75.
Featherman, Social History of Mankind, 88.
Fiske, John (quoted), *Through Nature to God*, 22.
Fittest, Law of Survival of, 272 f; how far humanity has been under the sway of this law, 273; why this no longer acts as heretofore, 274.
Forsyth, P. T., The Person and Place of Jesus Christ (quoted), 109.
Friendship among animals, 88.

Galton, Sir Francis, the founder of Eugenics, 283.
Garvie, Principal (quoted), 299, 301.
Gwatkin, Prof., The Knowledge of God, 100.

Haeckel, Riddle of the Universe, 29.
Hebrew Faith, our debt to, 191 ff.
Henderson, L. J., Fitness of the Environment (quoted), 12 n; *The Order of Nature, ib.*
Henslow, Prof., Present-Day Rationalism Critically Examined (quoted), 29 n.
Historic Dawns, 155–174.
Hobhouse, L. T., Prof. (quoted), 38, 39, 41, 46.
Illingworth, Prof. (quoted), 21.
Immortality, How the Christian Faith sets its seal on human aspiration after, 106.
Industrial Era, its benefits, 241 ff.
Infancy, Human, the significance of, from an ethical point of view.
Internationalism, Problem of, effects of increased transport facilities on international situation, 255 ff; the true solution of the modern problem of civilisation, 260–263; relationship as affected by the freedom of travel, 255–271.

James, Wm., Psychology (quoted), 26 n, 30; his Pragmatism, 52.
Jesus Christ: His doctrine of God, Man, Nature and Destiny, 199 ff; His place in the Providential Order, 199 ff; How he welded Religion and Morality, 103; His Incarnation, Atonement and Resurrection in their moral aspects, 104.
Jewish Race and the Future, 152.
Justinian, the Institutes of, 186.

Keith, Sir Arthur, The Antiquity of Man (quoted), 114 n, 117.
Kropotkin, Prince, Mutual Aid in Nature, 86 f.

Lang, Andrew, The Making of Religion, 100.
Language, function of,
1. Essential to clear thinking, 31.
2. A medium of intercourse, 32.

3. A means of conserving experience, 32 f.
4. Its plastic quality, 33.
Leadership, its functions.
1. The Crowd-compeller, 69.
2. The Crowd-exponent, 70.
3. The Crowd-representative, 70.
4. The Crowd-delegate, 71
League of Nations, 266.
Light of the World, the, 197–217.
Lubbock, Ants, Bees and Wasps (quoted), 87.

Magic, two kinds of, and their relation to Religion, 100.
Man, Antiquity of, 118 ff; a religious being from the beginning, 98; as the completion of one line of evolutionary development, and the beginning of another, 3, 4, 105, etc.; as Nature's Masterpiece, 108; Cro-Magnon, 117; Grimaldi, 117; Neanderthal, 115 f; Eras in his development: 1, Palaeolithic, 122 ff; 2, Neolithic, 125 f; 3, Bronze Age, 127; 4, Iron age, 129 f; his Equipment for his Providential function: I, General, 22–36; II, Particular, 37–110. 1, Intellectual, 37–49; 2, Volitional, 50–73; 3, Moral, 74–97; 4, Spiritual 98–110; his General Equipment, his *inferiority* to lower creatures in physique and in instinctive endowment, 22–26; his physical *superiority* in size of brain and suppleness of hand, 26-27; mentally superior to lower animals in being self-conscious person, 28; in his power of abstract thought, 29 f; language, 30 ff; Nature's steersman, 34 f; a builder, 35; an inventor, 35.
Man, the Coming of, a fresh factor in the world-process, 3 ff.
Mankind, Biological unity of, 114 ff.
Marrett, Prehistoric Man (quoted) 119 n, 123.
Marriage, primitive communal, a fiction, 82–3.
Marvin, F. S., The Living Past, (quoted), 32, 167 n, 174, 185.
McDougall, Prof., on Universal and National Ethics, 266 ff.
Ethics and Some World-Problems (quoted), 264, 268, 269, 288 n.
Mediterranean race, 139; its migrations, *ibid*; its characteristics, 146.
Mediterranean Sea, the cradle of human progress, 134 ff; its physical characteristics, 155 ff; its climate, 157.
Migrations of Peoples, Causes of,
1. Geographical conditions, 142.
2. Increase of population, 143.
3. Lust for Power, 143.
4. Racial restlessness, 144.
5. Domestic, the most effective, 144.
Mohammedanism, claims of, as a universal religion, 296 ff.
Moral action crystallises into *custom, public opinion and law*, 93–4.
Morality, true, begins with the transvaluation of mere *behaviour* into *conduct with inner sanctions*, 95
Morris, a New Theology (quoted), 26 n.

Natural Order, the, Secularistic modern attitude towards and its consequences, 233–236; remedy for this, 236–238.
Newbigin, Miss, Modern Geography (quoted), 132.
Nordic or Teutonic Race, 140 ff; its characteristics, 146 f; what we moderns owe to it, 173 f.

Orr, James, God's Image in Man (quoted), 28 n.

Osborn, Prof., Cartwright Lectures on Contemporary Evolution of Man (quoted), 115 n.

Parental instinct, its ethical significance, 76 ff.
Plato, our debt to, 180.
Power, the Problem of, 226–238.
Prehistoric Night, the, 113–134.

Racial Struggles in the Dark, 135–154.
Race, as "inherited breed," 136; various marks of (*ibid.* ff); "Cranial index," the most widely recognised mark of, 138.
Races, coloured, their recent phenomenal increase in numbers, 282 f.
Races, Human, Three main groups of, 116 ff.
Religion and the Covenant-bond, 101.
Religion, primitive, its inhibiting effect on man's attitude towards nature, 99.
Religion, the future of, 292–306; three possible rivals, 296–298.
Religion, the, of the future, Tests of, 298–305.
Ripley, the Races of Mankind (quoted), 145.
River-civilisations, why they disappeared, 167 ff.

Savage races, their passionate love of children, 79 f.
Schopenhauer, his doctrine of the primacy of the will, 52, 53.
Science, miracles of applied, 227–230.
Spurrell, G. F., Modern Man and his Forerunners (quoted), 115, 121 n.
Sutherland, Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct, 76 n, 82, 89.
Tennyson, Lord (quoted), 291.
Thales of Miletus, his place in the history of Philosophy, 181 n.
Tribal life as a field of moral discipline, &c., 89 ff.

Wallace, Russel, Travels on the Amazon (quoted), 88–89 n.
War, its effects on population, 275.
Wealth, ambiguity of term. How used in this book, 239–240; Results of its modern multiplication, 243 ff; has the modern increase of, been a boon to humanity? pros and cons, 245 ff; the uses of, as great problem as its production, 253 f.
Wells, H. G., Outline of Universal History (quoted), 198.
White Man, great increase in this race since A.D. 1500, and especially during industrial era, 276 f; this fecundity now threatened, and why, 277 f.
Wiggam, Prof., The New Decalogue of Science (quoted), 284, 288, 290.
Will, the, its importance as a factor in Reality, 52; its forms, *The Will to Live*, 53; *The Will to reproduce*, 55; *The Will to well-being*, 56; *The will to self-realisation*, 59. *The Will to wealth*, 66; *The Will to power*, 67.
Windelband, Prof., History of Philosophy (quoted), 180 n, 199 n, 206 n.
World, a redeemed, vision of, 307–313.
World-state, a super, is it possible? Reasons for and against, 256 ff.

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